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Bonn looks forward to a bridge-building year

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Bonn faces a difficult year ahead internationally. The political landscape seems to be changing and the government must try to look after German interests and, at the same time, resign itself to the fact that it cannot itself play a leading role of its own.

This might mean a lower profile. But German foreign policy need not suffer irreparable harm just because it does not hog the international headlines for a while.

Last year there was far too much ado about the Federal Republic, both of its own making and not.

It was the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the year of VE commemorations by Germany's erstwhile enemies.

It was also a climax of German uncertainty about history, the year in which Helmut Kohl forced his friend Ronald Reagan to visit Belsen and Bitburg.

A further feature of 1985 was Bonn's urgings for a resumption of the superpowers' dialogue and of a fundamental decision on SDI research arduously reached.

It was a year of struggle between Genscher and Strauss for control over German foreign policy, a clash that upset both friends and critical partners of the Federal Republic.

What the Bonn government and coalition parties achieve in this pre-election year will depend to a great extent on what happens at home.

But 1986 seems sure to be a superpower year. Allies of both superpowers will be relegated to the ranks.

America and Russia alone can solve the three main tasks that lie ahead:

- an improvement in overall relations;
- an agreement on comprehensive cooperation, including economic cooperation, between East and West;
- and a breakthrough in arms control and disarmament.

Yet Bonn in particular, with its precarious position between East and West, cannot afford not to show how well-suited it is as a bridge-builder.

Chancellor Kohl was doubtless right in feeling proud to have been partly responsible for preventing an ice age between the blocs after Nato missile deployment.

But that alone is not enough. Bonn's Ostpolitik has grown oppressively lame, with ties between Bonn and Moscow in particular at a low ebb.

It isn't primarily a matter of whether the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, plans to visit Bonn this year or to punish the Federal Republic by not coming.

There is no point in worrying too much about what the Soviet leader may or may not have in mind.

Yet bilateral ties must not be left solely to the tender mercies of shrewd industrial executives manoeuvring for billion-dollar contracts.

Now the Federal government, despite Herr Genscher's warnings, has succumbed somewhat to the lure of SDI, Bonn must make it clear that the decision to collaborate in strategic defence research is not a reversion to political blinkers and a departure from the desire for detente.

When the Chancellor replies to Mr Gorbachov's last letter he must not make do with a routine despatch. Fresh stimuli are needed from both sides.

Why, for instance, should it not be possible to come to terms with the Soviet Union on what seems possible with East Berlin: a treaty basis for cultural exchange?

Soviet diplomats in Bonn are fulsome in their praise of *Land* Prime Ministers (including Christian Democratic heads of government) who, unlike Bonn, have imaginatively and energetically tended ties with Moscow.

Bonn must, on the other hand, make a point of not quietly trotting along behind the United States, keeping in step on SDI.

Decisive negotiations on the terms on which companies are to collaborate in the SDI research programme have yet to be held.

It would be better to run the risk of the talks failing than to paper over differences of technological interest. SDI isn't, after all, an offer Bonn can't refuse.

Activities between Bonn and Washington must not be limited to SDI trading. The Bonn government could well show greater self-assurance in urging its American friends to come to terms with the Kremlin on disarmament.

It certainly need make no bones about urging the United States to call a halt to nuclear tests as soon as possible.

The Federal Republic can only use political leeway between East and West as long as it remains a reliable Western alliance partner.

A detente course urgently needs drawing up within Nato, cut to the cloth of a Bonn government that wants to make political capital out of its peace policy in next year's general election.

In this context there can be no objections to the Franco-German Year proclaimed by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher within the European Community — as long as agreement is not limited to ideas that might be expected of the general staff.

Why, for instance, do Herr Kohl and M. Mitterrand never mention disarmament?

But *the most important point must be* to make absolutely sure that foreign policy steers clear of party-political disputes in the pre-campaign and election campaign period.

Despite its tricky position the Federal Republic can well afford a hammer-and-tongs clash between government and Opposition on the best way to ensure pence.

What Bonn cannot afford is a constant tussle over foreign policy between Chancellor Kohl, Bavarian Premier Strauss, Foreign Minister Genscher and CDU/CSU parliamentary party leader Dregger.

In principle there can for that matter be no objection to members of the coalition wondering who might take over from Herr Genscher as Foreign Minister in 1987.

Herr Genscher's best weapon is that a convincing successor has yet to be proposed.

This kite-flying would only assume dangerous proportions if the impression were to arise in election year that a Foreign Minister whose days were numbered were pursuing a foreign policy that wasn't fully backed by the Bonn coalition.

More would then come to look unsteady internationally than the incumbent, who is, after all, the political godfather of the present Federal Chancellor.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 January 1986)





(Cartoon: Walter Hanel / Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

American clash with Libya unlikely

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

The Americans have reinforced their presence in the Mediteranean after warning that military moves against terrorism could not be ruled out.

Colonel Gaddafi has replied by threatening to plunge the entire region into "war without end" if retaliatory action is taken against Libya.

Previous punitive moves such as Israel's have in principle been aimed not at governments that back terrorists but at terror group bases such as the PLO's.

So does this new escalation mean that war is possible? After the latest succession of raids there can be no mistaking the way threats have increased.

Yet a head-on clash between Libya and the United States seems unlikely.

Colonel Gaddafi has not only stockpiled an enormous arsenal of weapons. He also has between 6,000 and 9,000 Soviet military advisers stationed there in case the Libyans cannot hold out against any American air attack.

Several thousand American oilmen also work in Libya; they would be welcome hostages for the Libyan leader. President Reagan would cut a poor domestic figure if, to protect US citizens from terrorism, he were to jeopardise the lives of thousands of other Americans.

For Colonel Gaddafi the flexing of

Continued on page

IN THIS ISSUE

■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Spain and Portugal enlarge it to 12 nations, 320 million people

New Year's Eve 1972 was the last occasion on which the original six member-countries of the European Community could still claim to be the Six.

On New Year's Day 1973 they were the Nine, having been joined by Britain, Denmark and Ireland (and would have been 10 had not the Norwegians voted against joining the Common Market in a referendum).

On New Year's Day 1981 the European Community finally reached double figures with the accession of Greece.

This year Spain and Portugal make up the round dozen, an exclusive club of democratic states.

Spain first applied for membership under Franco on 9 February 1962, but apart from more free trade there was nothing doing — just as the Common Market "froze" relations with Greece from 1967 to 1974 while the colonels held power in Athens.

By the same token, Portugal's desire to join the European Community did not gain a hearing until roughly 40 years of dictatorship came to an end in Lisbon.

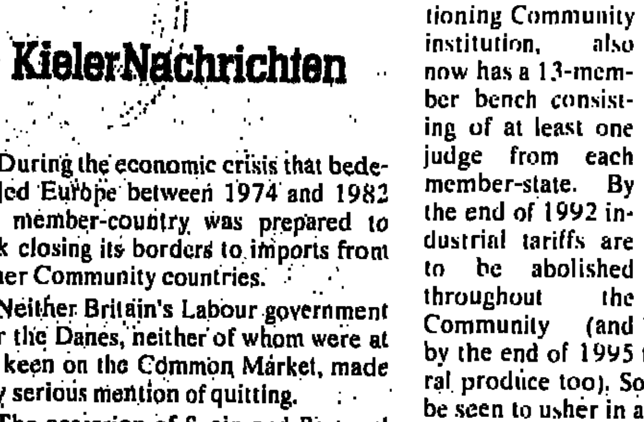
But from then on there was no doubt. European countries that want to join the European Community have an unwritten right to do so. Talks are merely held on their accession terms. The Turkish Prime Minister has just announced that his country is preparing to submit a membership application, and five European countries — Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and France — have withdrawn human rights proceedings against Turkey at the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg.

Ankara had promised to speed up the return to democracy, so it can only be a matter of time before Turkey becomes the 13th member of the European Community.

The Norwegians have also seemed to be in the process of changing their minds on the subject.

The attraction of the European Community stands in clear contrast to the Euro-pessimism that prevails at Community institutions in Brussels.

Tucholsky's aphorism about wedlock — that those who are out of it want to get in and those who are in it want to get out — applies only in the first part to the Common Market.



Kieler Nachrichten

During the economic crisis that bedevilled Europe between 1974 and 1982 no member-country was prepared to risk closing its borders to imports from other Community countries.

Neither Britain's Labour government nor the Danes, neither of whom were at all keen on the Common Market, made any serious mention of quitting.

The accession of Spain and Portugal is a field day for Euro-statisticians, who tell us there are now 320 million citizens of European Community countries, the Ten's 271 million having been joined by 40 million Spaniards and 10 million Portuguese.

The 14-member European Commission in Brussels, with two commissioners representing larger and one representing smaller member-countries, now numbers 17, having been joined by two Spaniards and a Portuguese.

Common Market officials have been joined by 1,000 Spanish and 300 Portuguese Eurocrats, bringing manpower up to 10,000. Yet in Whitehall the Scottish Office alone has a staff of 8,000. The 434 MEPs, or members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, are to be joined by 60 Spanish and 24 Portuguese MPs, boosting membership to 518 and further increasing the predominance of the Socialist Group. The Socialists, led in Strasbourg by German Social Democrat Rudi Arndt, expect to be joined by about 35 Iberian MEPs, while the European People's Group, led by German Christian Democrat Egon Klepsch, expects to be joined by 12-15 new members. Later this year special elections to the European Parliament are to be held in Spain and Portugal, and only then will the true strength of the two sides be clear. At present a narrow right-of-centre majority has been forfeited — but might be regained after the polls.

Off to market

(Cartoon: Behrendt / Der Tagesspiegel)

The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, arguably the best-functioning Community institution, also now has a 13-member bench consisting of at least one judge from each member-state. By the end of 1992 industrial tariffs are to be abolished throughout the Community (and by the end of 1995 tariffs on agricultural produce too). So the New Year can be seen to usher in a new future for Europe. It will begin on New Year's Day for Spanish and Portuguese workers in Germany, Belgium or Luxembourg.

The European Community

Foundation members: 1958

Later members: 1973, 1981, 1986

IRELAND, BRITAIN, DENMARK, NL, B, L, FED. REP. GERMANY, FRANCE, ITALY, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, GREECE

They will immediately be entitled to the same rights as citizens of other European Community countries.

Politically a number of points are worth mentioning. Spain's Socialist Premier, Felipe Gonzalez, claims to be on the best of terms with Germany's Christian Democratic Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

The Chancellor is no less enthusiastic about his relationship with the Spanish Premier. The Spanish government will certainly not forget in a hurry how resolutely the Germans insisted on southern enlargement of the Community.

When membership talks were marking time Bonn announced that it would only be prepared to consider remitting extra funds to Brussels once membership terms for Spain and Portugal were agreed.

In both Bonn and Rome statements by the Spanish Premier have sounded a striking note, with Señor Gonzalez referring to the "fundamental truth" that European Union presupposes joint exercise of sovereignty where member-countries would otherwise stand to forfeit it.

This logic of European integration has not been stated so clearly for ages, and the Spanish Premier is clearly in favour of qualified majority decisions by the Council of Ministers even though Spain has only eight votes.

Britain, France, Germany and Italy have 10 each, Belgium, Greece and Holland five each, Denmark and Ireland three each and Luxembourg two.

The new total is 76 votes, and the two-thirds majority to which he was referring (and which will in future more often apply) is 54.

Majority voting is the only way in which the European Community can regain the ability to act, and Señor Gonzalez was a firm supporter of the "better Europe" at the December 1985 Luxembourg reform summit of European Community leaders.

These points all serve to show that southern enlargement is definitely a great day for the European Community. Forces for integration within the 12-member Community have gained in strength even though contrary factors retain means of calling the caravan to a halt.

It remains to be seen how the Spaniards vote in the Nato referendum. Señor Gonzalez won his last parliamentary elections with a pledge to quit Nato, but he has long realised that you can't have it both ways.

You can't do good business within the European Community — and under the protection afforded by the alliance — yet leave the "dirty work" of security policy to the others.

So Spain's Socialist government has advised voters to vote in Nato's favour.

Politically the southern enlargement of the European Community is beneficial in every respect, with Portugal, a Nato member, being economically stabilised, as is the northern perimeter of the Mediterranean.

Yet in economic terms there are serious worries. The 13 million unemployed in the 10-member Community have been joined by three million Spaniards and Portuguese out of work.

Unemployment is 20 per cent in Spain and eight per cent in Portugal, with inflation running at eight per cent in Spain and 16 per cent in Portugal.

Even in Spain's richest region, Madrid, per capita economic output amounts to only 73 per cent of the Common Market average, while elsewhere the figure is much lower.

In Portugal the average figure is 49 per cent of the Community average, making Portugal even poorer than Ireland and southern Italy.

All three are regions where economic output amounts to only one seventh of the prosperity of, say, the Hamburg region in northern Germany.

In sectors where the European Community already has a surplus, such as wine, shipbuilding, olives, steel, fruit and vegetables, textiles, shoes and leatherware, Spain in particular adds to the surplus.

Adjustment and harmonisation will be arduous over the seven-to-10-year period agreed, but the aim is to transform European mass and quantity into quality.

Hermann Rohle

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 December 1985)

Continued from page 1

US military muscle in the Mediterranean will be a warning not to overstep the mark. He will not want to manoeuvre the US President into a position in which, for prestige's sake, he has no choice but to resort to the last option.

The Americans (and the Israelis) will presumably strafe another target than Libya, led by a Colonel Gaddafi capable of anything, rather than risk appearing to be paper tigers.

There is certainly no shortage of terrorist nests around the Mediterranean. But this scourge of the modern world will not be eliminated for as long as Western governments give states that support terrorists kid-glove or even normal treatment.

Western governments that behave in this way may be dependent on oil imports from the Middle East. They may also harbour illusions of getting off scot-free in this way. But what happened in Athens surely proves them wrong.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 January 1986)

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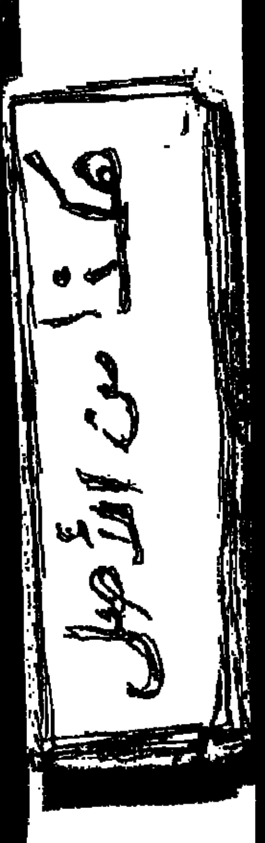
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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Agenda drawn up to get to the nitty-gritty of SDI

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann (FDP) is to enter into concrete negotiations with the United States on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme. The aim of the talks will be to improve technology transfer between the two countries and clarify legal grey areas for German research institutes interested in taking part in the programme.

One major objective will be to establish conditions for German firms and institutes taking part.

Government officials got down to the business of pre-negotiation briefing immediately after the coalition government and cabinet in Bonn gave the go-ahead for talks just before Christmas.

The heads of various government departments, including those in the Ministries of Economics and Justice, have started compiling an agenda.

The head of the foreign trade department in the Ministry of Economics, Lorenz Schomerus, who is the overall coordinator, will take over negotiations from Economics Minister Bangemann following a preliminary round of talks.

An official in Hans-Dietrich Genscher's Foreign Office, Jelonek, will also attend the initial round of negotiations.

Bonn government officials have had to familiarise themselves with the wording of many agreements containing details of German-American cooperation in various fields.

Most political observers expect the talks with Commerce Secretary, Malcolm Baldridge, and Defence Secretary, Caspar Weinberger, to culminate in the drawing up of a "catalogue of principles", which will include an agreement enabling government institutions to intervene if German firms have trouble with Washington.

The Bonn cabinet has asked Bangemann to update or renegotiate general stipulations on secrecy, the transfer of technology, the rights of ownership, usufruct and exploitation, and pricing, price auditing, and the placing of orders.

Bonn expects the "catalogue of principles" to be ready by spring, the Economics Ministry pointing towards April or May.

The Bonn Chancellery, on the other hand, feels that the SDI section may even be completed by the end of March.

The list of principles outlining the possibilities of government intervention (as a kind of place or arbitration) will have to consider American wishes as regards price auditing.

It is already clear that a renewal of existing bilateral agreements, a possibility contemplated by Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, will not suffice.

It now looks as if at least the technological and economic side of this vexed question will be resolved before the FDP party conference in Hanover next May and before the election campaign proper gets underway.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl and FDP chairman Bangemann have kept the coalition in good shape.

They both deserve credit for reaching agreement on the legal clarification of the neutrality of the Federal Labour Office during industrial disputes, a field in which Economics Minister Bangemann was at his most persevering as well as on the question of extended SDI negotiations.

The FDP in particular found it difficult to keep the coalition on an even keel following an in-party drift towards an out-and-out rejection of SDI.

During the FDP's traditional Epiphany meeting Bangemann and his party's business manager, Helmut Haussmann, can now try to enlist support for their cause by stressing that they have

Frankfurter Allgemeine

managed to combine peace within the coalition with the "identity of the FDP".

The FDP, in fact, can even claim "opinion leadership", on various issues, for example, the clarification of paragraph 116 of the national labour law.

Bangemann's party will be placing greater emphasis on its own part in the success of the Bonn coalition during the course of 1986, and the Epiphany meeting will mark the start of this new public relations campaign.

This parliamentary term's legislation will soon have been completed anyway, leaving more time for election campaigning.

And with the state elections in Lower Saxony taking place in June, the Bavarian state elections in October, the Hamburg elections probably in November, and the general election in January 1987 there's plenty of campaigning to do.

If Chancellor Kohl has his way the problems surrounding the extension of the conscription period and the clarification of paragraph 116 will have been settled in the Bundestag by May.

The coalition parties are already concentrating on topics for the next parliamentary term. The CDU refers to the "tax reform proper" and the long-term solution of the costs of medical treatment; the FDP is keen on more flexible labour law provisions and a reduction in the number of legal rules and regulations ("debureaucratisation"); the CSU has its own problems with the anger of Bavarian farmers.

The struggles for candidatures and places on party lists (of candidates under the proportional representation system) for the general election will automatically die down during the spring.

In this respect, a number of surprises may be in store for the CDU and CSU.

Hardly anybody, for example, thought that the CSU's foreign policy expert, Count Hans Huyn, would not be nominated in his constituency of Rosenheim.

What is more, his position on the regional list of parliamentary candidates for the election to the Bundestag is not strong enough to guarantee him a future seat in Bundestag.

As regards the FDP, it looks as if Wolfgang Mischnick will be nominated despite his ailing health, remaining head of the FDP's parliamentary party.

Count Otto Lambsdorff is obviously hoping for a favourable outcome to his trial and for a subsequent political comeback.

Chancellor Kohl's government regards the fact that it has managed to maintain a close relationship to both the United States and France as its own achievement.

The sporadic friction in relation between Bonn and Paris have been of a more general nature and has not been reflected in the behaviour of the respective political leaders.

The co-existence of the cabinet decision to go ahead with talks on SDI and Kohl's suggestion made during his last meeting with President Mitterrand that the Federal Republic of Germany and France set up a joint institution for the discussion of both civilian and military questions related to space research and hold talks on a European Defence Initiative has caused no undue concern in Washington.

Chancellor Kohl claims that this fact is a result of a reinforcement of mutual trust in his relationship to both Mitterrand and Reagan.

What is more, he does not expect any major disturbances in the field of his Ostpolitik during 1986.

He expects the Geneva talks to continue.

The needs of the Soviet economy, above all the increased opening up of the Siberian region, will probably determine the nature of the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

In view of the frequent difficulties in economic relations between the USSR and the USA and the fact that Japan is focussing its attention on the Chinese market the Federal Republic of Germany seems a likely candidate for closer economic ties during the future.

Apparently, the Soviet Union expects Germany to take a qualitative leap forward during the next five years, which means that Moscow cannot bypass Bonn in its efforts to strengthen its economy.

It looks as if the coalition is off to a relatively good start to 1986, both in its internal and external policy fields.

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 December 1985)

Economic news a boost for coalition morale

The trends and forecasts at the year's end indicate that the coalition is following the right economic policies.

The news of overall economic improvement is a welcome end to an eventful years for the government. The three coalition parties, the CDU, the CSU, and the FDP, now have reason to feel confident about their general election chances in January 1987. But between now and then there are three *Land* elections: in Lower Saxony, Bavaria, and Hamburg. The campaign should begin to warm up in the spring.

At the moment, the government problem is this: as soon as it starts boasting about the economic upswing, the growing number of people with jobs and the blessings of its tax reforms, the SPD Opposition hits at its inability to reduce unemployment.

Even though there was increased dialogue with the unions in 1985, the government's conflict with the unions over strike laws will add fuel to existing disputes.

The CDU had little reason to be satisfied at its performances in state elections in 1985.

Defeats in The Saar and North Rhine-Westphalia could not be offset by a good result in Berlin.

This was more than just a normal swing of public opinion away from the CDU. It was the price paid for government slip-ups, disputes within the CDU and CSU, and disappointment over election promises which were not kept.

The situation changed towards the end of the year.

Public opinion polls show that the Christian-Liberal coalition can now count on about 52 per cent of the votes.

Helmut Kohl has no real rival as head of government and leader of the CDU despite numerous rumours to the contrary within the CDU itself.

It now looks as if Kohl has steered his party through the mid-1985 low.

But his coalition partner, the FDP, ran into difficulties following the election of Martin Bangemann as party chairman in succession to Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The question was: who is really in charge of the party? Bangemann and Genscher have different ideas and Genscher has now posed something of a problem for the party.

Discussions in the SPD were overshadowed by the choice of Johannes Rau as chancellor candidate.

Although the man from the Rhine and Ruhr enjoys great popularity, his promotion to the national political league has been thorny.

Rau's own goals dampened the optimistic spirits of the SPD following the outcome of state elections in Saarland and North Rhine-Westphalia, and many people are asking the question whether Rau is the right man for the job.

Finally, 1985 turned out to be a strenuous year for the Greens.

They missed their election target in two state elections, and their position as partner in a government coalition in the state of Hesse has aggravated party infighting between the Realos, the advocates of practical politics, and the Fundis, the radical fundamentalists.

The Greens have still not managed to turn a political movement into a political party.

1986 will show whether the the popularity of the Greens is on the wane.

In the foreign policy field 1985 was the year of commemorations for Bonn.

The 40th anniversary of VE Day on 8 May was accompanied by the clasp hands of friendship on the battlefield of Verdun, the controversial visit by Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan to the war cemetery in Bitburg and the memorial for the victims of Nazi terror at Bergen-Belsen, and the exaggerated accusations of revanchism by Eastern bloc countries.

Unfortunately, the fact that this campaign was inspired by the not exactly clever border theories of exile groups in the Federal Republic of Germany is still part of political reality fifteen years after the signing of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties.

Despite the growing "normalisation" of relations between both sides there are still many unhealed wounds.

Thirty years after diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union were re-established bilateral contacts remained restrained and concentrated on economic ties.

The new head of the Kremlin, Mikhail Gorbachev, focused his attention on the other superpower and kept a tight rein on his allies.

As regards Bonn's policies towards Europe 1985 was the year of haggling over finance, the agricultural budget, Community enlargement and Commun-

Continued on page 6

■ STATE SECURITY

Into 1986 with a deep breath and the prospect of even more terrorism

The year 1985 will go down as the year of international terrorism.

The worldwide proliferation of terror, especially that of Palestinian origin, has kindled the smouldering flames of national violence allegedly motivated by a political cause.

Terrorism in the Federal Republic, for example, again reared its ugly head.

Attacks against representatives of industry and US military installations showed the expanding thrust of terrorist violence.

Sinister murder has become part of the standard repertoire of German anarchist groups.

The new dimensions of violence became clear at both a national and international level.

The murder of West German industrialist, Ernst Zimmermann, was welcomed by its perpetrators as an execution.

The French terrorist group Direct Action and the commando group *Elisabeth van Dyck* claimed responsibility for it.

This was the first indication of the new nature of terrorism.

Following the arrest of some of the key personalities in the Red Army Faction (RAF) — Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Adelheid Schulz and Christian Klar — German terrorist groups sought means of improving international collaboration.

However, it was not until mid-January last year that the RAF and Direct Action issued a *communiqué* in which they announced that they had joined forces.

The murder of Zimmermann is attributed to German terrorists, even though the killer commando called itself Patsy O'Hara in memory of an Irish terrorist who died during a hunger strike.

On the evening of the murder RAF prisoners in Stuttgart-Stammheim called off their hunger strike, which had already reached a critical stage after nine weeks without food.

They had received the signal from their sympathisers which they had been waiting for; their mobilisation campaign was showing signs of success.

More terrorist attacks followed.

Two Americans died following a bomb attack on the US air base in the military section of the Rhine-Main airport in Frankfurt.

Only a few weeks before, during the peak holiday season, a bomb exploded in the civilian section of the same airport.

Even though some witnesses say that they saw Arabs planting the bomb, none of the letters claiming responsibility for this bombing can be taken seriously.

Eurowide terrorist collaboration became more and more apparent.

In Belgium numorous bombings were carried out by the "Communist combat cells" (CCC).

Experts from the West German Criminal Investigation Office (BKA), for example, its president, Heinrich Boge, try to avoid using the expression "Euroterrorism", not because it is inappropriate but because its use would "serve the interests of the terrorists and might lead to a trend which has not, at least not yet, been confirmed" (Boge).

Together with a Europeanisation of terror the international ramifications of



political violence also became more obvious.

The hijacking of the American TWA airliner and its finally happy end following a long odyssey, the seajacking of the Italian luxury liner "Achille Lauro" and the brutal killing of paraplegic US citizen, Leon Klinghoffer, the hijacking in Malta and its unbelievable fiasco of 50 dead passengers following the storming of the plane by an Egyptian anti-terrorist squad, and — as the last link for the time being in a long chain of violence — the bomb attacks in the airports of Rome and Vienna make two things very clear.

There is a growing reactivation and internationalisation of Palestinian groups and an upsurge of extremist anti-semitism, which Israel has, among other things, sought to combat by bombing the PLO headquarters in Tunis.

Some of the demands made by these criminals are for the release of terrorists imprisoned in European jails.

The history of terrorism shows that problematic and dangerous constellations may be looming on the horizon.

Palestinian commandos, for example, were involved in the kidnapping and subsequent murder of Hanns-Martin Schleyer in 1977 in that they hijacked a Lufthansa plane on its flight from Majorca to Frankfurt and adopted the same demands made by Schleyer's kidnappers, namely the release of the majority of German terrorists.

The politicians responsible at the time survived this tricky situation by taking a tough line.

The international community of states only then discusses the problem of terror in greater depth in the wake of a specific attack.

UN resolutions, in which some statement condemning terror can only be reached after considerable haggling, leave western nations with their fists clenched in their pockets for lack of a clear line of agreement.

The countries involved in terrorist acts, on the other hand, celebrate such documents as a victory of diplomacy, and continue to dispatch their killer commandos.

There has been a surprising swing of opinion among Soviet leaders with regard to the topic of terror.

The fact that the Soviet Union was itself the target of at least violence in certain regions forced it to reconsider its claim that, in accordance with Leninist prohecies, politically motivated violence can only be regarded as a phenomenon of capitalist society. In Lebanon, for example, four Soviet citizens were kidnapped by radical groups.

Although the growing terrorist threat is generally accepted hectic reactions tend to bypass the central problems.

Basically, solutions must be found to the following three problems:

- The entire international community must meet its commitments with respect to border controls and checks on individuals. Countries which, for reasons of political opportuneness, have become transit areas for terror must be reminded of their international commitments and warned against the consequences of their behaviour.
- Security precautions at airports, ports and railway stations must be reappraised. The question of whether passengers should say goodbye to their relatives or friends outside of the airport building (as is already the case in a number of European cities) should, for example, be discussed.
- Government-backed retaliatory measures in response to terrorist attacks should be discussed critically by Israel-friendly states. President Reagan's beseeching letter to the Israeli government is a first step in the right direction.

Like all other industrialised countries, the Federal Republic of *Germany* will have to live with the scourge of terrorism in 1986.

In the year of an election campaign it is particularly important to tackle this problem in a down-to-earth and rational manner.

Terror threatens the state in its entirety, not just the ruling government or the opposition parties.

Thomas Wittke

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 31 December 1985)

A more cunning RAF 'poised to strike'

Members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) have become more cunning, says anti-terror expert Klaus-Herbert Becker.

He says RAF terrorists stay in West Germany for longer periods than they used to but they no longer leave so many traces.

Becker was for seven years the head of TE, the anti-terror department of BKA, the criminal police in Wiesbaden. This month he moves to more conventional police duties.

He believes that some key RAF members are now back in the country preparing a campaign.

Those that do return must live an "extremely conspiratorial" life, but this does not appear to deter them in any way.

So why are they coming back?

Has the search for terrorists in other European countries been intensified?

Do the terrorists find it too difficult to communicate in a foreign language?

Or are they afraid that a longer stay abroad may cut them off from the sociological changes in the behaviour of the younger generations?

The return of the terrorists could, of course, be linked with the both planned and announced formation of a Western European terrorist front and the associated desire of other terrorist groups, such as the Direct Action in France and the "Communist combat cells" (CCC) in Belgium, that the RAF conduct its "war" back home.

During recent years RAF ringleaders and key members only left their hideouts abroad to come to Germany for brief spells.

As Becker explained, criminal investigators have tracked down terrorists in places as far away as the Maldive Islands in the Indian Ocean or Australia.

It is Becker's firm belief that transnational and worldwide investigation is one of the BKA's strong points.

Taking stock of what Becker regards as "the most difficult in my many years as a criminal investigator", he recalls how his work for the "TE" began back in 1977.

He received the phone-call which at that time represented a new start in the fight against terrorism on his way to a wine festival near Wiesbaden.

The man at the other end of the phone was the president of the BKA at the time, Horst Herold, who gave Becker a, to put it mildly, surprising job to do.

"Get on board a Lufthansa plane which is standing ready for take-off at the Rhine-Main airport in Frankfurt. Fly to Rome and when you get there try to delay the take-off of a hijacked Lufthansa aircraft."

Just before 8 p.m., about thirty minutes after this call, Becker, together with the GSG 9 anti-terrorist squad, was on board a plane headed for Rome.

The countdown to save the lives of the passengers in the airliner "Landshut" had begun.

Fortunately, the GSG 9 squad was able to storm the aircraft and release the passengers at Mogadishu airport in Somalia.

During the years which followed Becker was in charge of many lightning operations.

In 1978 the French police arrested Stefan Wisniewski following a tip-off from the BKA. Wisniewski's undoing was a false name he used in France to change money, a name which was known to the BKA.

The observation of Wisniewski put the police onto the trail of Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar, both of whom had gone underground in Yugoslavia.

Following a request by the German authorities these two terrorists were arrested, but were subsequently released after the Federal Republic of Germany turned down a suggested swap with Yugoslav emigrants.

Nevertheless, Christian Klar finally did walk into Becker's trap in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1982.

The police used a clever trick to lull Klar into a false sense of security after discovering a number of terrorist outdoor hideouts off various motorway exits.

They cordoned off these areas and Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Adelheid Schulz were arrested.

In order to make sure Klar was arrested too the police announced that the cover of the terrorist hideouts had only been blown in the south and south-west of Germany.

Klar, who was hiding on the outskirts of Hamburg, was therefore convinced that the police had not discovered any other hideouts.

Just a few days later, however, Klar was seized at his hiding place in the woods.

"Our aim was to do the job without firing a shot", said Becker, "and this we did".

At one fell swoop the BKA managed to eliminate between 70 and 80 per cent of RAF logistics.

Despite this success, however, this terrorist group has recovered. Accord-

Continued on page 5

■ PERSPECTIVE

Reality of East-West links forces a policy change

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The softer tactical line taken by most Western foreign ministries towards individual East Bloc nations has had mixed success.

The change, more pronounced since the advent of the Helsinki process, changed the emphasis away from asserting one's own point of view, of trying to apply pressure and of mobilising public opinion.

Instead, efforts have turned towards non-committal talks and of "creating a basis for confidence" by avoiding the use of pressure. The trend became to make concessions without insisting on concessions in return.

This new soft approach might have been successful in cases where the East Bloc partner was interested. But it also meant that Western European diplomacy lacked punch where it was a matter of harsh reality and where power interests were involved.

So the United States and, in its wake, Britain, soon left the ivory tower professionals to their own devices.

President Reagan's defence initiative and the way in which problems were tackled at the Geneva summit steadily brought real relations more to the fore.

Some Western European Ministries seem to have found the change hard. One result was sudden differences between Anglo-Saxons and most other Western Europeans at international conferences.

They included both the "Helsinki process" and international organisations, such as Unesco.

The Americans, it was alleged, now saw the "Helsinki process" solely in terms of human rights, the inference being that they felt it no longer mattered much on all other counts.

US Secretary of State Shultz effectively demonstrated the new approach on his tour of three Eastern and South-East European countries.

In the past, American policy has not always seemed consistent. Under President Carter human rights seemed to be limited to a few dissidents and to exit permits mainly for people of Jewish extraction.

In Rumania Mr Shultz extended human rights to include, for the first time, freedom of religious belief — and pegged human rights to most favoured nation status.

He was able to do so because, given the US system of government, he could fairly claim that Congress was an independent body he was unable to influence.

He did not refer to religious freedom in the abstract, either. He dealt specifically with the recognition of two denominations in Rumania and with unrestricted imports of Bibles and religious literature.

In this way he built a bridge for the Rumanians, who evidently decided that most favoured nation status was worth a certain amount of conciliation.

By establishing "points of contact" at ambassadorial level in Washington and Bucharest the United States now has a means of directly approaching the Rumanians at any time in connection with their most favoured nation status.

The Federal Republic of Germany has in contrast never seriously bothered to set up a negotiating position from which it might hope to persuade Rumania to increase the number of exit permits for ethnic Germans or even to end abuses such as "illegal" bribes to speed the processing of permit applications.

The argument that the United States is a world power and the Federal Republic isn't does not hold water.

Most favoured nation status is reviewed annually in the European Community, of which the Federal Republic is a leading member, and Rumania, which must export or die, is heavily dependent on the Community's goodwill.

The argument that economic pressure is detrimental to German export interests and boomerangs on the hard-pressed Rumanian people carries very little conviction either.

German exports to Rumania have declined in any case, and the Rumanian people would only stand to benefit if Bucharest found it even more difficult to export goods, especially farm produce.

Technology is a sector in which the West holds a commanding position. A major aspect of US strategy is to keep the Soviet Union and other East Bloc *countries lagging well behind the West* technologically, thereby maintaining permanent superiority.

In response Mr Gorbachov, as was seen at the last special Comecon session in Moscow, has sought to boost coordination of research and technological development in the East Bloc. That doesn't suit most Eastern European countries; they are worried they may be sealed off even more hermetically from the rest of Europe and the West.

Given this attitude on the part of most Eastern European countries both the United States and Western Europe should be able to set up favourable negotiating positions with partners in the East by means of the right political dose of technology transfer. Mr Shultz certainly made it clear that he planned to put this issue, which was raised in all the countries he visited, to political use.

Yugoslavia had difficulty mainly in connection with terrorism. Foreign Minister Dizdarevic self-assuredly said it was right for Yugoslavia to strengthen its position in the non-aligned movement by backing so-called national liberation movements. He may have been right on this point, although consideration for Yugoslavia's domestic situation might have counselled caution.

The Yugoslavs seem not to have appreciated latest developments that have left the PLO in a decidedly ambiguous position and mobilised the United States even more against international terrorism.

On this, as on other issues, there may be certain differences of viewpoint between the United States and the "softer" Western Europeans, but it would be wishful thinking to imagine the United States would unquestioningly accept a decision by Yugoslavia or any other country to harbour terrorists.

The United States has told Yugoslavia much more forcefully than Western Europeans are given to doing that the Yugoslav economic crisis cannot be ended without fundamental changes in the country's economic system.

Mr Shultz dashed Yugoslav hopes that he might deal with Belgrade's ideas on long-term rescheduling of the country's debts.

But he did hold forth hopes for the future if the Yugoslavs kept up their present efforts.

Viktor Meier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 December 1985)

Continued from page 4

ing to Becker, three persons associated with this left-wing terrorist organisation "resurfaced" shortly before the end of 1985.

This would indicate that there is communication between the so-called military unit of the RAF and the organisation's supporters, who use their real names.

Those RAF members who go underground probably have to stay on a waiting list before they can join the military unit.

One of the latter's members is a substitute for Martin Thiel from the Saarland, who gave himself up to police after finding life too difficult in the underground scene.

"Just like those who gave up the fight before him", Becker pointed out, "he (Thiel) did not talk about how the RAF conducts its illegal operations".

In the terrorist scene there are no classical defectors as in the case of the secret service.

The police knows, however, that the terrorists react to the fact that their photos are on a wanted list by changing their hairstyles and clothing.

Not only is politically motivated gang crime completely different to other forms of organised crime, but the police is also faced by the problem that those arrested "do not talk".

Furthermore, apart from the generally anonymous letters claiming responsibility for a particular crime "they don't own up to what they have done". "TE" head Becker has been "contactable" round the clock since 1978: at home via the telephone, in his car or in his helicopter via police radio, on his way to work via a special signalling device, and on holidays via a Eurosignal receiver or short-wave radio.

"You're constantly on edge", Becker explained, "hoping that nothing has happened. Although it may sound paradoxical, the signalling devices calm me down in the knowledge that everything's OK as long as they don't bleep."

Starting on 2 January Becker will again turn to more "regular" police activities.

The change at the top of this department, however, overshadows a problem which Becker was unable to solve during his period in office.

Abu Nidal, the rival of the head of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, would appear to be increasingly pursuing his own political course. The renewed links between the RAF and left-wing extremist Palestinian commandos (as in the seventies) suggest that the Federal Republic of Germany may yet again have selected as an arena of terrorist activity.

Abu Nidal, who, according to the latest reports, is disabled and often conducts terrorists operations sat in a wheelchair, and the RAF have one main common enemy: the United States and its military installations, including those on German territory.

Werner Kahl

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 December 1985)

■ FINANCE

Maidservants hitch up their skirts and boost stocks

Young, upwardly mobile Germans have been bombarding their banks with orders to buy stock on the stock exchanges.

They are making it easy for stock market professionals to sell shares at high prices.

The phenomena is described by a term, *Dienstmädchenhausse*, or maidservant's boom, by which brokers mean a bullish market fuelled by inexperienced newcomers keen to cash in on the tail end of a boom.

Maidservants may be virtually extinct. Even if they still did exist, they would be unlikely to be buying German blue chip shares from the holdings sold by Friedrich-Karl Flick.

Yet there seems to be no shortage of young Germans with the cash to buy shares. Times may have changed but people haven't. The *Dienstmädchenhausse* is alive and well.

The German stock market has been booming for three years in a row, and there are good reasons for thinking the boom will continue. So there is no fundamental reason for not still buying shares.

But buyers must be careful in their choice of shares. Real earnings are what count — and, of course, expected profits.

In 1985 profits of the top 100 commercial and industrial companies increased by 20 per cent on average, after average increases of 35 per cent in 1984 and 39 per cent in 1983.

A variety of factors have contributed to this. One is the effects of rationalisation and the progressively extensive introduction of cost-cutting computerisation.

Companies' costs have also, in the final analysis, been eased by the fact that



there are more than 2.2 million people unemployed: people no longer employed in trade or industry are financed by the social security system instead.

Another reason is that exports were made more profitable by the strong dollar.

Can this be sustained? Probably there will be changes during the next year.

In the foreign exchange market the dollar has clearly been deflated, while the deutschemark is highly rated both internationally and within the European Monetary System (EMS).

That is bound to hit export earnings, which reached a record level in 1985.

In the 1986 round of wage negotiations the unions are likely to demand more cash; this year their sights are not set primarily on shorter working hours. So wage costs are likely to rise.

The US economy has slowed down as it headed for the New Year, so German companies are likely to find it tougher exporting to America. Europe is still in the early days of economic recovery and making slow headway.

So a breather in stock markets is possible. International trends must be considered, even more now that German markets are no longer strictly domestic.

Foreign investment is substantial, switching from one blue chip to another, and there is a lot of money to invest.

The assets of the leading US pension funds are estimated to be worth $1 trillion, or DM2.5 trillion, while British pension funds have assets worth a further DM350bn.

They scour the world's stock markets looking for good-value blue-chip shares likely to yield high returns.

In 1985 their attention was well and truly directed to German markets. Foreign buying was substantial, concentrating on leading German firms best known abroad.

Investors who jumped on to the bandwaggon were easily able to double their money in Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen, AEG and Thyssen shares.

Banks and insurance shares gained appreciably, as did engineering and chemicals.

An estimated one German share in three is now foreign-owned. This influx of foreign capital is why German stock market turnover exceeded DM100bn last year for the first time ever.

Astute observers of financial markets see warning signs. The deutschemark seemed likely to be revalued and the price-earnings ratio of German shares was a creditable 11:1.

These were the reasons why foreign investors bought German stock, and if experience is any guide they will sell it again as soon as their expectations are fulfilled.

International capital will then up and away in the quest for other lucrative markets around the world.

When German blue chips are offloaded the "maidservants" will be the losers. That is the threat that lies ahead for German stock markets.

Large numbers of disappointed German investors who bought at high prices and had to wait ages before share values staged a recovery are the last thing German stock markets can possibly want.

Wolfram Pohl
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 December 1985)

Continued from page 3

ity reforms, in particular the acceptance of a low-pollution car.

Although the latter led to a few scratches to the government's image at home, 1985 was all in all a successful year with regard to Europe and environmental protection.

Franco-German relations suffered somewhat from the all-embracing discussion on SDI participation.

In addition, SDI has further split government and opposition parties in Bonn and made cooperation within the coalition more difficult.

Foreign Minister Genscher fears that SDI involvement could have a more detrimental effect in terms of Ostpolitik than warranted by its benefits.

Chancellor Kohl, on the other hand, feels that a non-committal stance harbours greater risks.

In the meantime, however, the SDI research train has already left the station.

Rudi Kilgus
(Mannheimer Morgen, 30 December 1985)

1986 prospects better, says poll of firms

By the end of this year, there will probably be between 300,000 and 350,000 more people employed than at the end of last year, says a forecast by the German Industrial Institute, Cologne.

It says in its traditional year's-end poll of 38 industrial associations that 200,000 new jobs will be in the service industries.

Most firms in the 25 trades and industries polled feel more confident about the future than they did at the end of 1984.

Overall, domestic economic recovery is expected to gain momentum.

Optimism is particularly widespread in electrical and mechanical engineering, motor manufacturing, trades and commerce.

Electrical and mechanical engineering continue to be the mainstay of the upswing, and both are getting a lot of benefit from the increase in *domestic* demand.

Traders report a marked increase in buying. Carmakers say orders held back due to the catalytic converter debate have now largely been placed.

Ten of the industries polled, including the coal industry, expect 1986 to be no better — but no worse — than 1985.

A mere five, including potash and open-cast brown coal mining, fear business will be worse.

The construction industry says the situation is still serious. Allied industries such as earth, stone and wood share this gloom.

They are all reeling from the decline in private housebuilding. Not even the increase in public works, the institute says, will be enough to offset the decline in private demand.

The institute feels its latest survey proves that a turning-point has been reached in the labour market due mainly to manpower requirements of electrical and mechanical engineering and motor manufacturing.

Between them these three are expected to hire 90,000 extra staff, which would more than offset the 50,000 redundancies expected in the construction industry.

Eighteen industries expect to hire extra staff, as against 21 that expect manpower requirements to remain steady or decline.

Yet the institute is convinced the pendulum is swinging toward more new jobs. The 12 industries where layoffs are expected are not very labour-intensive, accounting for a mere 18 per cent of jobs.

Well over 100,000 new jobs will, it is forecast, be created in manufacturing industry and the trades.

Together with new jobs in the service trades the overall increase, including domestic staff and public service employees, is expected to amount to between 300,000 and 350,000.

That is assuming that output will be higher, or even substantially higher, in 1986 than in 1985 in the 29 industries that expect higher turnover.

On average they expect a real turnover increase of between two and three per cent, while electrical and mechanical engineering and plastics expect turnover to increase by between five and six per cent.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 December 1985)

■ EAST-WEST TRADE

Ban on technology transfer means business headaches

The Economic Research Institute (DIW) in West Berlin has published good and bad news.

In the middle of November DIW announced that Western trade with the East Bloc is increasing. That was the good news. The bad news was that bans on technology transfers from West to East are to continue.

Heinrich Machowski of DIW is gloomy about the future of East-West trade. He predicts that although there is no gain in hampering East-West trade we have come to accept that it will be impeded.

In the past few years economic relations between East and West have stagnated, but they have now improved a little.

Following the crisis years of 1981 to 1983, things are now moving in the direction of normal for western exporters. An exception is credit to Poland.

Successful consolidation policies by the Comecon countries make extensive imports from the West possible again.

There is a distinctive character to their interest and requirements and the demand for western technology grows.

The captains of industry in the communist world and western exporters must batten down the hatches, however, for difficult times are ahead. Transactions between the the West and the East will be hampered more than ever before.

The United States has feared for some time that the balance of power between East and West could be tipped in favour of the Warsaw Pact countries through injections of western technology.

Deputy to the US Secretary of Defence Richard N. Perle, entrusted recently to investigate East-West technical transfer came to the conclusion that: "The exploitation of western technology means for the Warsaw Pact:



- The saving of billions in research and development;
- A clear reduction in the time required to develop new weapons systems;
- A marked productivity increase in defence industries, and;
- It makes possible a swift answer to new western weapons and tactics."

Western advocates of technology transfer take this dramatic reasoning as being exaggerated. The Amercians for their part believe that their ban on supplying high technology to the East Bloc is justified.

The export guidelines of the Export Administration Amendments Act, passed a few months ago, place more restrictions on exports to the East Bloc than before.

The act empowers the American president to ban from USA markets firms that flout American security regulations.

America's allies are more and more giving way to American pressure to adjust their foreign trade legislation to American regulations.

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann enacted new regulations at the end of October that complied with decisions made by the Coordination Committee for West-East Trade (Cocom), Paris.

Cocom gives advice to western industrialised countries on what goods of possible military value should not be supplied to the East and how best restrictions can be applied.

The US is always a powerful force within Cocom. The latest West German foreign trade regulation — it is the 55th — extends the West German list of goods that are forbidden for export to the East Bloc.

New on the list were among other items numerically controlled machine tools, certain classes of computers, their accessories, software and transmission systems for telecommunications.

Until a few months ago retired government official Günter Welzien was in the Federal Office for Industry (BAW) in Eschborn, near Frankfurt, responsible for the rules governing exports to the East Bloc according to the Cocom list. Commenting on the new situation he said: "It has got to the point now where manufacturers of meat-processing machinery and textiles equipment can no longer export their products to the East Bloc."

This is true in the main for machinery that is controlled by high-quality computers.

This can also include medical equipment such as computer-controlled tomographs, when these include computers that could be cannablised and the computer re-applied for the construction of military aircraft.

Only when a computer is built into equipment in such a way that it cannot be removed without destroying it can approval be given for its export to the East Bloc.

Free world trade is increasingly made more difficult by the fact that the Cocom list gets more complicated all the time.

It is more and more difficult for exporters to abide by it because of its complications and more difficult to monitor.

Previously exporters were probited from exporting "ingot steel, castings or steel alloys for guns and weapons". By the new formulation it is forbidden to export "wrought iron, castings and semi-finished products".

The wording of the regulations has become much more general.

On the one hand apart from steel all alloys are now probited for export; on the other when is a casting a semi-finished product and when not.

In the past exponents of the regulationss have been agreed that a casting is a semifinished product when only 19 operations from 40 of its production process have been completed.

The new West German Cocom list was only published a few weeks ago so it is difficult to assess yet the effect it will have on Federal Republic exporters.

Textile machinery manufacturers do not expect any set-backs in their export programmes.

Hans-Georg Stäcker, manager of the Industry Federation's section for textiles machinery said: "I cannot image that matters could get any worse than they are now. Things are bad enough as they are."

As far as Stäcker and his sector of industry is concerned Cocom has brought the Federal Republic and the other member countries into line with the Americans have been doing for years.

Because computer-controlled equipment is often fitted out with American-made chips, this equipment could not be exported to the East Bloc, although there was no ban on doing so in the West German Cocom list.

The American suppliers of chips wrung from their West German customers in their sales contracts the export ban commitment.

Gerhard Reckel of the Industry Federation's sector handling electronics said that "some progress has been made" as regards the electronics industry, particularly communications and information technology.

Micro-computers, that are not among the latest in technological development, have been struck from the embargo list, for example. They can be exported.

Reckel is also pleased that the Cocom officials in Paris have agreed no longer to treat China in the same way as other East Bloc countries.

The newly discovered China market is wide open for the West German information industry that will be able to do well with sensitive technology.

Reckel can see problems for the future, however, with computer software that falls under the Cocom embargo.

It stands out quite clearly that US officials are generous in their interpretation of strategically relevant software, because precise definitions are impracticable.

A Siemens specialist said: "They tread very carefully in really delicate areas."

The new departure of the Cocom list is that, apart from plant and equipment, specific technology as such unrelated to specific products now appears on the banned list.

Item 1301, for instance, forbids the export of technology for the production and processing of super-alloys.

Most manufacturers are not particularly crazy about the idea of marketing their latest technology anyway, because they can only make money by selling products.

There is a reverse side to this, however. When supplying hardware technical documentation, drawings and circuit diagrams are also supplied, because they are essential for maintenance.

Raimund Hörth, responsible for East Bloc trade in the West German Machinery and Plant Manufacturers Association (VDMA) in Frankfurt sees difficulties in demarcating this documentation from the concept of technology.

He said: "Our company sees the danger that machinery can be exported, but it will be made extremely difficult to export drawings and documentation."

So who is going to buy machinery when he cannot have plans for its maitenance?

Nevertheless the branch expects there to be an upturn in business. The forecasts for 1986 are favourable after the falling off of trade with the USSR.

Hörth expressed the hope that "thanks to the East-West talks in Geneva things would perhaps not be so bad."

West German industry will only fair well if the Cocom regulations are not adhered to as strictly as they are appear in black and white, particularly with the new 55th regulation from the Economic Affairs Ministry.

Cocom old hand Günter Welzien knows that there is worse to come. He said: "The 55th regulation was just the first earthquake shock, the earthquake itself hass yet to come." It is expected at the beginning of 1986.

The embargo list currently in force will them be fundamentally extended.

It seems so far that Heinrich Machowski was right when he complained recently of growing political control of trade with the East and criticised the administrative cost that went with it.

His view is that restrictions are im-

Continued on page 12

ENTERPRISES

Volkswagen looks back on 30 years in America

DIE WELT

Volkswagen has been in business in the United States for 30 years. It has been an enormously successful time. Business is booming and the future looks bright.

Volkswagen of America Inc. celebrated the anniversary a week before Christmas in the Heaven's Garden of the St Moritz on the Park, a hotel with a commanding view of New York's Central Park.

The head office of VWoA, a 100-per-cent subsidiary of Volkswagen AG, the German parent company, has for years been in Troy, Michigan, — near Detroit.

There were historic reasons for celebrating the anniversary in the slightly weatherbeaten de luxe New York hotel.

It was here that Will van de Kamp and a 25-year-old American, J. Stuart Perkins, set up their first office in 1955 when they were sent over to the United States by Volkswagen's managing director, Heinz Nordhoff.

In a single suite, with a single secretary, van de Kamp and Perkins, who was later to become VWoA's president, spent months beavering away at their dealer network and corporate arrangements.

It was not until the parent company sent extra staff across the Atlantic that the still small vanguard moved into a sixth-storey office on Fifth Avenue — another prestige address. Volkswagen (United States), the first company they set up, soon quietly folded. It was followed by VWoA as the sole importer of Volkswagen cars.

Nearly 100 guests, including many veterans of those early days, some now retired, others in other jobs, met at the St Moritz on the Park for a nostalgic trip down memory lane.

They could look back, despite setbacks and mistaken decisions, on tremendous achievements. The Volkswagen success story speaks for itself.

Over five million VWs run on US roads, and they still include three million Beetles. VWoA has a network of 1,300 dealers (including Audi outlets) and a US payroll of 40,000.

The success story to end all success stories was, of course, the Beetle. In the golden years, 1968-70, when Volkswagen went all out for quantity, the Beetle accounted for the bulk of sales totalling five per cent of new registrations.

At present VW sales make up 2.8 per cent of new US registrations, of which 1.8 per cent is imported from Germany.

In 1968, the peak year, 423,000 Beetles, 51,000 vans, estate cars and campers and 96,000 other VWs were shipped across the Atlantic.

The Beetle was felt to be an honest, reliable car. It was also value for money. In 1970 the standard version cost a mere $1,750 plus sales tax.

Heinz Nordhoff, the first post-war managing director of the parent company, first thought in terms of selling Beetles in the United States in 1948.

In those days he was interested less in boosting turnover than in earning dollars Volkswagen badly needed to buy US machinery and equipment.

He hired a Dutchman by the name of Ben Pon who shipped the first Volkswagens officially exported to the United States on board the liner *Westerdam*, which berthed in New York in January 1949. That year Volkswagen sales in the United States totalled two Beetles — at $1,400 each.

Ben Pon's mission may have been a failure but he did learn one important lesson: that cars won't sell in the United States unless they have service back-up.

At the end of 1949 Nordhoff himself flew across the Atlantic with a case full of Beetle brochures, but he too failed to find a dealer and flew back home disappointed.

A year later the parent company agreed to terms with New York importer Max Hoffman. That year 330 Beetles were sold in the United States. Gottfried Lange, who had earlier worked for Opel, took on the task of setting up a sales and service network west of the Mississippi.

Will van de Kamp, who later died at the wheel of a Porsche while on a visit to Germany, worked on the eastern seaboard.

Arthur Stanton, who was recently awarded the Federal Order of Merit, took on the main dealership for the metropolitan area of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey.

VW may be said to have made its breakthrough by about 1955, when 33,000 Beetles and 3,200 other Volkswagens were sold in the United States. VWoA took over from Max Hoffman.

As so often happens in the United States, a magazine article — "The Car That Built a City" in the February 1954 *Reader's Digest* — gave the Beetle a positive image.

It was an image comparable only with that of Henry Ford's legendary Tin Lizzie.

Back in Wolfsburg, euphoria reached such heights that by 1955 Volkswagen was seriously considering manufacturing the Beetle in the United States.

An assembly plant in New Brunswick, N.J., was bought from Studebaker. Six months and a day later the plant was sold and the plans scrapped. Nordhoff had realised in time that sales estimates were unrealistic; VW first needed a wider dealership network.

In January 1959 Nordhoff, who was on his way home from a check-up at the Mayo Clinic, arranged to see Carl H. Hahn, the present VW chief executive, in New York.

He entrusted Hahn with the task of building up a larger network of dealers to ensure nationwide sales and service.

Hahn turned the entire organisation upside down, introducing computers, training and research programmes and service standards: He had all US dealers adopt the blue and white corporate colour scheme.

In 1956 the US subsidiary moved, for 22 years, to Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Not for 23 years did Nordhoff's dream of a Volkswagen production facility in the United States come true.

In April 1978, during Toni Schmücker's tenure as chief executive in Wolfsburg, the Westmoreland, Pa., works began assembling the smaller version of the VW Rabbit (followed by the larger model at the end of 1984).

Schmücker had visions of regaining a five-per-cent share of the US market, but that was a hopelessly unrealistic target, especially as VWoA president J. W. McLernon, previously a General Motors man, over-Americanised the Rabbit.

American motorists clearly prefer a genuine German car. Volkswagen AG and McLernon parted company after a minor customs scandal upset Wolfsburg in Easter 1982.

The US subsidiary was also hit by two American recessions. So, of course, was the US motor industry as a whole. Plans to set up a second assembly works in Sterling Heights, near Detroit, were scrapped.

But this depressing period is long past, and VWoA president Jim Fuller regaled the anniversary event with brilliant balance-sheet fare.

So did Peter Fischer, chief executive of the now largely independent Audi division.

Profits on imports have been so handsome that VWoA has been in the black for three years in a row.

In 1986 Volkswagen plans to boost US sales from 220,000 to 250,000 units, while Audi aims to sell 75,000, as against last year's 73,000.

The big sellers are the VW Jetta (with ample luggage space back in fashion) and the Audi 100.

Including the GTI, 78,000 Rabbits ran off the Westmoreland, Pa., assembly lines in 1985, which wasn't bad after a poor start.

In terms of design the Rabbit has to compete with over 50 similar cars, most modelled on the VW, in the United States. That is a problem the Beetle never had.

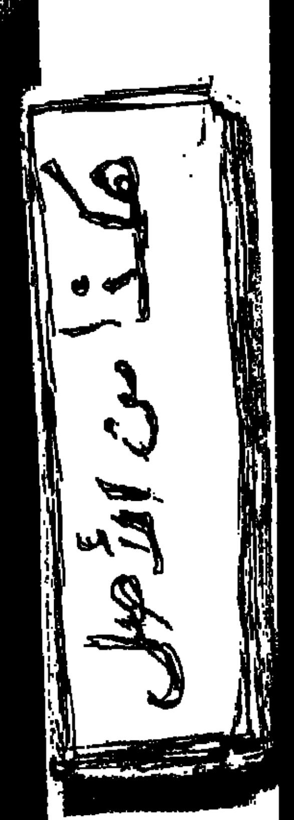
The Beetle was so well-known that Walt Disney made three films with a VW Beetle in the leading role. They will doubtless have been recalled by oldtimers at the anniversary event in New York.

So will the changing requirements of car-buyers, the stringent official regulations, the plummeting dollar exchange rate in the 1970s (and its effect on VW prices in the United States) and the tough competition from Japan. Between them these factors combined to end the Beetle era in the United States.

Horst-A. Siebert

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 December 1985)

The Rabbit: too American for America. (Cartoon: Murschetz/Süddeutsche Zeitung)





ENERGY

Work on N-plant goes ahead despite row

A nuclear fuel reprocessing plant is being built in Wackersdorf, Bavaria. Planning permission was only given after a drawn-out dispute. Supporters and critics still clash. This article by Christian Schütze in the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, outlines the cases for and against. It says what alternatives there are, explains the financial, technological, ecological and safety risks are and why DWK, the company in charge of the project, decided on Wackersdorf as the site.

In theory, generating energy from nuclear fission or fusion holds the key to limitless energy, converting matter into energy in keeping with Einstein's formula $E = mc^2$ (energy equals mass times the speed of light squared).

By this formula one tonne of natural uranium contains as much energy as 15,000 tonnes of coal or 10,000 tonnes of petroleum.

At nuclear power stations it is extracted by splitting uranium isotope (U 235) atoms in a controlled chain reaction, reducing the overall mass of the nuclear fuel.

Uranium reserves are virtually unlimited, subject only to the price customers are prepared to pay for mining and processing.

At current prices proven reserves that can be mined economically are estimated at between 20 million and 30 million tonnes.

Since the mid-1970s the number of light-water reactors planned has prompted pundits to forecast uranium reserves running out between 2000 and 2030.

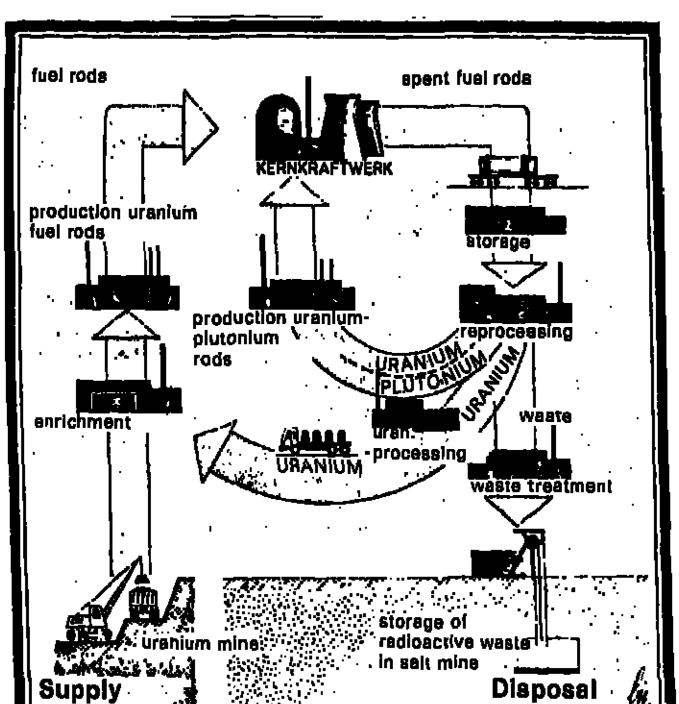
Fissile U 235 makes up only 0.5 per cent of uranium ore, the bulk consisting of non-fissile U 238. Ninety-seven per cent of the material in nuclear fuel rods is U 238, the remainder enriched U 235.

When U 235 atoms are split, neutrons are sent flying, some finding a new home in the nuclei of U 238 atoms, converting them into Pu 239, or fissile plutonium.

In special reactors with uncontrolled fast neutrons — fast breeder reactors — the process can be controlled to produce more plutonium than uranium 235 is used up.

Converter reactors in contrast — and the overwhelming majority of power reactors come in this category — merely consume fissile material without producing plutonium in return.

The breeder reactor may not fully replenish its nuclear fuel requirements, but in theory it could make uranium reserves last 60 times longer. Breeder reactors need to be charged with plutonium, and plutonium is produced by processing spent nuclear fuel rods from converter reactors, which is where nuclear fuel reprocessing facilities come into the picture.



Radioactive fissile products are separated from the remainder during processing, amounting to about four per cent of the mass of fuel rods from light-water reactors.

This radioactive waste has to be separated because otherwise the chain reaction would be impeded. The recycled uranium and plutonium are processed for further use as mixed oxide fuel rods.

The radioactive waste, in liquid form, is stored in molten glass poured into drums for final storage, or nuclear waste disposal.

Reprocessing thus serves a twofold purpose: making better use of uranium reserves and helping to dispose of radioactive waste from nuclear power stations.

Nuclear waste disposal became an urgent problem in the late 1970s after the chemical industry had ruled the project too great a financial risk and electricity supply companies had long shown no sign of wanting to tackle the problem.

In 1977 twelve electric power companies set up the DWK, or German Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Co. Ltd.

On 28 September 1979 the heads of the Federal and *Land* governments agreed to make planning permission for further nuclear power stations subject to proof that waste disposal was assured, as required by the Atomic Energy Act.

The DWK has since planned to dispose of nuclear waste by means of reprocessing — in keeping with Bundestag decisions on energy policy and the policy pursued by the Federal government.

Objections were raised from the outset. Reprocessing nuclear fuel was said to be technically risky, accident-prone, financially incalculable and ecologically contaminating by virtue of the constant emission of radioactive matter into the atmosphere and the water cycle from the moment spent fuel rods were cut open.

Problems of finding a final resting-place for highly radioactive waste were arguably also unsolved, but these arguments were dismissed from the outset by the DWK and by politicians, who argued that nuclear fuel reprocessing techniques were tried and trusted.

In recent years the reasons that seemed to justify reprocessing as a means of disposing of nuclear waste have grown less convincing. The outlook for breeder reactors is viewed more sceptically than, say, 10 years ago.

Contrary to general expectations President Reagan has yet to give the go-ahead for the Clinch River reactor project called to a halt by President Carter.

With uranium prices at their present level (and they could be held more or less steady until the mid-21st century) breeder reactors are likely to remain so expensive to build as to stand no hope of competing with tried and trusted light-water reactors.

The French breeder reactors Phénix and Superphénix are partly financed by the defence budget because the plutonium they produce is used by the army. The experimental fast breeder reactor at Kalkar on the Rhine, near Düsseldorf, which was originally to have cost DM500m, is now scheduled to cost DM7bn. If it ever goes on-line, one thing it will not do is breed.

Further plans for fast breeder reactors are in the pipeline, but as new light-water reactors are not being built anywhere in the world in anything like the numbers forecast in the 1970s uranium and uranium enrichment capacity are still readily available.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 December 1985)

Costs dispute

The Wackersdorf turnkey contract awarded to a consortium of contractors is worth DM5.2bn at 1984 prices.

It is likely to reach DM6bn by the scheduled completion date in 1994.

Smaller contracts to local firms are expected to cost another DM1bn. In 1984 the total cost was estimated at between DM4bn and DM12bn.

Much of the investment capital will consist of reserves electric power companies have set aside for nuclear waste disposal in recent years. The remainder will be raised in the capital market.

No-one can say what the interest rates and the cost of debt funding will be, just as no-one can say how expensive infrastructure measures may yet prove.

Infrastructure costs, says DWK, the company in charge of the project, will have to be paid by the *Land*, Bavaria, and local authorities.

In part return for this heavy expenditure Wackersdorf should provide about 1,600 steady jobs (two years ago there was still talk of 1,800 jobs). Critics argue that these will be the most heavily subsidised jobs ever in the Federal Republic.

Electricity supply companies like to lead with an entirely different argument in support of the investment.

They say atomic energy costs 9.8 pfennigs per kilowatt-hour, including capital investment, running costs and waste disposal, whereas coal-fired power costs 13.3 pfennigs per kilowatt-hour.

Utilities dismiss as unrealistic an entirely different result reached by an ecological research institute in Freiburg, which claims that by 1995 nuclear power will cost 47.7 pfennigs and coal-fired power 29.1 pfennigs per kilowatt-hour.

Cologne University energy department arrives at yet another set of figures for 1995: 16.77 pfennigs for nuclear power and 25.05 pfennigs for coal-fired power.

DWK can expect Federal and *Land* government investment grants totalling an estimated DM600m.

The Bavarian state assembly's Social Democrats plan to find out in an inquiry what other attractions Wackersdorf has as a nuclear fuel reprocessing location.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 December 1985)

■ PHILOSOPHY

Letters collection reveals contemporary dialogue of intellectual tension

Hannah Arendt-Karl Jaspers, *Letters, 1926-1969*, edited by Lotte Köhler and Hans Sauer, Piper Verlag, Munich and Zurich, 864pp, DM98. The letters of philosopher Karl Jaspers, 1883-1969, and his pupil Hannah Arendt, 1906-1975, are one of the major correspondences of the 20th century. Published by Piper, they reflect several decades of contemporary affairs. Hannah Arendt read philosophy under Heidegger, Jaspers and Husserl. A Jewess, she emigrated to France in 1933 and from there to the United States in 1940, where she worked as a publisher's reader and freelance writer. From 1959 she taught political science and the history of thought at Princeton. She is best known for her work on totalitarianism. Her major works include "Elements and Origins of Totalitarian Rule" (1951), "Vita Activa or On Active Life" (1960) and "Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil" (1964). In the 1950s and 1960s Jaspers changed from being a philosopher to a politically committed thinker who clearly took to task the Federal Republic of Germany as it was in the Adenauer era. This change is readily apparent in the correspondence, which reveals two leading figures of modern intellectual history in philosophical and political dialogue, a dialogue full of intellectual and internal tension.



Karl Jaspers . . . irrational approval of the USA. (Photo: IP)



Hannah Arendt . . . criticised Eichmann trial. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

The correspondence between Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers begins in 1926 with the 20-year-old woman student asking her "esteemed professor" pertinent questions about his philosophy of history.

Her father has just died and she comes to see in her professor both a mentor and a father figure.

She later referred to him as "the only teacher whose education I have ever felt able to acknowledge." She refers to the "childlike desire not to disappoint you" — and means it.

She greatly admires the "combination of freedom, reason and communication" she sees him as representing. But she is no less serious in maintaining an independent mental approach of her own, no matter how similar their viewpoints might be.

She disagreed with him because he took a mystical view of Germany and the "German character" even before 1933.

They clashed in earnest in 1933 when he sent her a copy of his treatise on Max Weber. She objected to his attempt "to give the term German ethical depth by means of the figure of Max Weber."

"For me," she wrote, "Germany is my native language, its philosophy and its poetry."

As a Jewess she was both unable and unwilling to regard "German" as anything more. She was certainly not prepared to accept Weber's axiom that he would be willing to join forces with the Devil incarnate for the cause of German recovery.

That was an alliance too many other people were willing enough to enter into, as history has shown.

The two correspondents accordingly had to stop writing to each other. During the Nazi era she chose external emigration — to America — while he preferred "internal emigration."

But by autumn 1945 they were able to resume their correspondence as a result of mediation by Melvin J. Lasky who, like Hans Jonas, had visited Jaspers in occupied Germany.

Most of the 420 or so letters in the collection are from the post-war period. They reflect contemporary affairs until 1969 when Jaspers died.

Their correspondence concentrated on the Federal Republic — in addition to the United States and Israel. It also, perhaps even more importantly, testifies to the lives of two people who felt at the war's end that they had survived the flood.

Thenceforth they dealt in extremely varied ways with how to avert such a catastrophe in future, and their respective companions, Gertrud Jaspers and Heinrich Blücher, were increasingly included in the debate.

Jaspers began by "naively" hoping the Germans would change politically, but he soon felt disappointed.

His initial support of Adenauer, of whose foreign policy he approved, and his enthusiasm about the Hallstein Doctrine and saving Berlin gradually yielded to a more detached point of view.

By *1949 he announced*, disconcertedly, in Basle that he did not belong to this category of Germans.

Three years later he no longer wanted to be a German in the political sense although, without pleasure, he held a German passport.

Finally, in 1961, he announced from his Swiss home: "I would vote SPD, except that I am not entitled to do so." Adenauer, he said, was substantially a fairly insignificant figure and the Federal Republic the home of a corrupt party-political oligarchy.

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

His transition from being a philosopher who keeps his views to himself in public to a political writer was marked by proposals such as that of abandoning Berlin.

His disappointment culminated in the "totally convincing renunciation of the basic principles of Germany on which the Federal Republic is based."

He outlined this malaise polemically in his essay *Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik?* (Where Is the Federal Republic Heading?).

It is impossible to say in detail to what extent Hannah Arendt and her husband, a convinced anti-nationalist, were influenced by this view of Germany.

But there can be no mistaking Jaspers' gradual transition to a pessimistic viewpoint endorsed by Hannah Arendt in their correspondence by virtue of bitter experience up to and including the resigned statement in the early 1960s that: "This so-called republic really is the same as ever."

"It has downfall written all over it," she wrote a few years later, by which time she had abandoned hope entirely.

The more disappointed Jaspers was by the universal resurrection of nationalism, the more he based his political hopes on the United States.

After the war America, as a non-nation, was in his view the quintessence of political freedom, "the most desirable country in spite of everything; and an American is all I should want to be if I weren't a German."

Jaspers was otherwise very keen to abide by a rational outlook, so much so that he long insisted on a longwinded, donnish style of writing even private letters and approved of being hailed as the "north German iceberg." Yet his enthusiasm for the United States was altogether irrational.

In a mixture of gratitude and admiration he wrote, on a wave of wishful thinking, even in the late 1950s that: "We are all basically potential citizens of the United States."

Hannah Arendt shrewdly and unreservedly briefed him on all serious shortcomings of her new home, yet his confidence in the United States was virtually unbounden.

As a European member of the Congress for Cultural Freedom during the McCarthy era he was misused by the CIA and lamented the "incredible stupidity of the United States."

Yet in the final analysis he was unmoved by Hannah Arendt's opinion that it was "no longer possible, as it was a few years ago, to support America as unreservedly as we have done."

The same goes for her judgement: "What a comedown for a country if it can no longer be measured by anything other than its own standards!"

His Third Reich experience is the yardstick of Jaspers' judgements on world affairs. From the distant vantage point of Europe he relativised what on closer acquaintance might be considered hostile toward democracy.

Their contrasting viewpoints initially clashed even more violently over Israel. For him religion was all, for her it was nothing that Judaism stood for, which was why he feared the "downfall of Judaism" if Israel was to be politicised and reduced to the level of a mere nation.

She in contrast welcomed the foundation of the State of Israel, but not the manner in which it occurred. Regardless of his earlier misgivings, Jaspers then saw the reality of the new state as the better option.

He called Israel an "acid test of the West." The destruction of the State of Israel would be tantamount, he felt, to the end of mankind.

Hannah Arendt felt this viewpoint was wildly exaggerated and "not even justifiable as an emotion."

It took the Eichmann *trial to make* him change his mind. He felt the way in which the Jewish people passed judgment on Eichmann was fundamentally wrong.

She complained that it was too theatrical by virtue of the demonisation of Eichmann and untrue by virtue of the disregard for Jewish collaboration with the Nazis.

In her trial reports for the *New Yorker* she sought to justify her opinion in detail. The upshot was a campaign of defamation "at the lowest level."

Jaspers was unreserved in his solidarity with her and assured her after reading her Eichmann book that he felt it was "magnificent in itself, a testimony to her unswerving desire for truth and a deep and despairing approach to the subject."

The correspondence sheds light on a relationship that wielded a powerful influence on the thinking and work of them both, intensified as it was by 13 visits Hannah Arendt paid Karl Jaspers in Basle.

She added a worldly dimension to Jaspers' reason; he added a rational dimension to Arendt's world.

The two increasingly close friends and correspondents reveal aspects of their characters either unknown or much less readily apparent in their published work.

Jaspers the dry and reserved philosopher proves capable of tenderness and cordiality. He even admits he may have overreached himself as a political writer.

Hannah Arendt astutely and with charming persistence laid a growing philosophical foundation to her political theory.

Her "view of the course of things," which Jaspers felt was "basically so awfully pessimistic," was linked in her love of the world and of mankind with a metaphysical gaiety that was a keynote of her life.

The letters may fail to answer the question what might hold good in view of the flood, but the way in which the question is asked and why make them memorable. They are one of the most significant correspondences of the 20th century.

Karl-Heinz Stahl

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 14 December 1985)

■ LITERATURE PLUS

American interest in German writers 'is small and declining'

German literature is not popular in the United States, says Peter Demetz, professor of German studies at Yale University. And the outlook is worsening. The emigrant generation that promoted German literature through translating, publishing and criticising, is dying out. Professor Demetz was in Düsseldorf last month as guest speaker at a ceremony to present the Heinrich Heine Prize to writer Günter Kunert. Martin Oehlen, of the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, took the opportunity to speak to Professor Demetz.

It hasn't yet reached the stage where television has supplanted the bookshelf in America, said Professor Demetz.

Television sometimes even had a positive influence on books. "In talk shows, books are often mentioned — and that, of course, is highly welcome for the authors."

But German authors were not included: German literature had a modest position in the USA. And it was likely to get more modest.



Thomas Mann, Kafka and Grass are the best known, says Peter Demetz (above). (Photo: AP)

The main reason, said Demetz, was that the emigrant generation that had done so much for German literature through criticism, publishing and translating, was dying out. That meant the end of the German literature lobby.

The position was worse when the interest in German poetry came to a standstill 10 years ago. At the beginning of the 1980s there was also a marked decline in the number studying German in colleges and in special courses, although the drop off was not so breath-taking as with Russian and French.

The cause of this lack of interest, said Demetz, is the change in attitude towards education in which the study of a foreign language no longer plays an important role. He also places significance on the move by the younger generation toward the film and television.

A kind of "cultural introversion" has taken place, he believes. What happened on the west coast of the USA was of little interest to the east coast at the beginning of the 1980s.

The new German film, Demetz believes, has helped to open up the view of the German world. Intellectuals on the east and west coasts, concerned more with films than literature, have had their interest stimulated by Herzog and Fassbinder.

This can be seen in the popularity of Günter Grass. The filming of his novel *The Tin Drum* has made him the most widely known and read German author in the United States. But nevertheless Grass's new works are relatively unknown. So is his political development.

"Most people think of the Grass of the 1960s and relate him to the symbol of "Berlin, the bear," said Demetz.

In a survey about German authors three names came to the top — Thomas Mann, whose works are made available by the Alfred Knopf publishing house; Franz Kafka whose name has moved into the language as "Kafkaesque"; and Günter Grass whose works are given massive support by the publisher Helen Wolf. She also promotes extensively Max Frisch and Uwe Johnson.

Heinrich Böll's fortunes in the US have been as various as they have been in West Germany. He is talked about more than read.

Demetz said: "He is respected as a symbolic figure of post-war Germany, but none of his works have had so much impact as *The Tin Drum*."

German classics play only a small role in a country where television is paramount. Goethe and Schiller are little read outside the universities.

Nevertheless the Boston branch of the Suhrkamp publishing house, with the assistance of American German scholars, is trying to introduce to the reading public a ten-volume edition of Goethe in English.

There is also currently a "German Library" that will eventually include 100 volumes of the German classics.

There is little interest in German lyric poetry or drama — poet Paul Celan, who lives and works in Paris, has a few readers.

Few German dramatists ever appear on Broadway. Sometimes a Brecht play, sometimes one by Hochhuth; but no more. As a consequence, Demetz said, the off-Broadway theatre and university productions play a disproportionate role.

A German play is rarely published in book form, with the notable exception of Heiner Müller.

He has burst on American intellectual life like a bomb via his work with Robert Wilson in the gigantic "Civil Wars" project. But this is an exception.

Latin American literature is going through a golden age in the United States, especially poetry. There is more interest, in fact than that in the Russian dissidents.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Demetz said: "The Latin Americans are discussed, they appear in the media and they come on visits when they have no difficulties with the State Department."

German authors do not travel so much, which might be why German prose works, poetry and plays are so rare in American bookshops.

He also complained that German authors "give the impression of literary conformity. They are inclined to deal with the same themes at the same time. Quite the contrary to American writers who dig away like moles in their own chosen areas with total individualism." American publishers are possibly not prepared to go to the expense of translating German poetry, that is costly, because of the quality of the try itself. Demetz said: "At present German literature seems to me to be very tender and sensitive — one longs for a pike to appear in the carp pond."

Martin Oehlen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 December 1985)



Theban tomb depiction circa 1400 BC. (Photo: The Schott collection)

University gets rare photos from Egyptologist's collection

The Egyptology Department of Trier University has acquired 8,000 prints of the unique photographic collection made by *Professor Siegfried* Schott, former professor of Egyptology at Göttingen University who died in 1970.

The professor's widow has donated the collection to Trier University and Egyptologist Professor Erich Winter.

The collection will form the basis of a "Schott Photographic Archives" that has been of considerable service in Egyptology research over the past two years and has now been made available to the public for the first time.

During the 1930s Professor Schott took a considerable number of pictures, mainly of Theban monuments but also of various Egyptian temples and museums, particularly photographs of the exhibits in the Cairo Museum, concentrating on the mythological papyri.

Schott kept a hand-written catalogue of the negatives of his pictures identifying them exactly.

Professor Schott bequeathed these negatives and the catalogue to the Griffith Institute in Oxford thirty years ago. For the past sixty years the Institute has published a topographical bibliography of Egyptology. This is a many-volume publication that gives full bibliographical details of the works produced on Egyptian temples and monuments.

This work, produced under the names of publishers Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, is the most important bibliographical Egyptology handbook currently available.

Schott gave his material to the Griffith Institute for a new edition of the handbook dealing with the Theban graves, now published in two volumes under the title *Porter-Moss I*.

There is hardly a page of this work that does not include a Schott photograph, evidence of the painstaking way in which Professor Schott put together his collection of photographs of the 350 Theban graves, known during his life*time. His photographs* are to this day the only documentation available of many gravestone reliefs and monuments.

The destruction of many graves over the past 50 years and the fact that many have now become inaccessible adds to the importance of this collection of photographs.

Siegfried Schott kept in his possession, however, a collection of prints, 8,000 in thirteen hefty folios. These have now been made available to extend Egyptological studies at Trier University where, during the past 18 months, work has been done on producing an inventory of the collection, linking the negative numbers to the prints. In addition new negatives of the photographic material handed over have been produced.

The aim of the work is to make it possible for Egyptologists and Egyptology research organisations to obtain prints or enlargements of photos in the collection.

Eventually Trier University will have a complete set of the Schott pictures at present in the Griffith Institute, available for Egyptological research.

During his life-time Professor Schott contributed to the value of his collection by generously making prints available for scientific research. This generosity has resulted in the gaps in the folios that are apparent today, that must now be filled.

The main task of the Egyptology Department at Trier University in the next few years is to track down the missing items by direct contact with research workers and institutions so as at least to produce prints of the missing items.

Wolfgang Stauch-von Quitzow

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 December 1985)

■ EDUCATION

Ministry rejects charge that most students can't make ends meet

Since 1951 the Deutsches Studentenwerk (DSW), a student welfare organisation, has carried out regular surveys of students' living costs and conditions.

One university student in 10 is given a lengthy questionnaire to fill in every three years or so. Successive student generations have been polled for 34 years, the DSW claims.

Data are handled by the Hochschul-Informations-System (HIS) in Hanover. The last survey but one was carried out in 1982, the latest in the summer semester of 1985.

Comparison of the two sets of figures was awaited with keen interest; changes in the job market and student grants having had a crucial effect on students' overall circumstances.

DSW president Professor Hans-Ernst Folz, Marburg, sounded the alarm, saying the trend over the past three years had been most disturbing.

The details of the survey he outlined to the Press at the beginning of December were indeed appalling, leaving only the Federal Education and Science Ministry in Bonn unmoved.

"The DSW's gloomy, pessimistic view of the social situation of students is neither shared by students themselves nor in keeping with reality," said CDU state secretary Anton Pfeifer.

The government had no intention of complying with the DSW's exaggerated

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

demands for an increase in student grants.

Bonn plans an increase in maximum grants that for the most part will offset the low inflation rate in recent years, he says.

The DSW's general meeting in contrast feels the increases in maximum grants and parental allowances envisaged — between two and three per cent — are totally inadequate.

The maximum grant would then, the meeting was told, increase by a mere DM20 from DM690 to DM710 a month.

"The DSW's proposal to increase to DM974 a month the student's cost-of-living index," Herr Pfeifer says, "is as unrealistic as the claim that two students out of three are in financial hardship because they have less than DM900 a month to live on."

The allegedly unrealistic survey brought to light the following facts:

Only one student in three has enough money to make ends meet. Two out of three have less than the DM974 per month the DSW says students need. One in four has less than DM700 a month.

Students who live at home with their parents (their numbers are four per cent up on 1982) face higher costs with less cash in hand. Student incomes in general have declined in real terms.

More students try to work their way through college as a result, Professor Folz says. Over half the student population work for a living at least now and then — and earn less than students used to earn.

According to HIS figures students who live with their parents have on average DM494 a month in disposable income, as against DM518 in 1982.

Ordinary students have DM802, as against DM777; married students DM1,104, as against DM963; and second-degree students DM1,120, as against DM1,104.

Ordinary students and students who live with their parents receive "far from insubstantial" assistance in kind, usually from their parents, who pay their rent or make other provisions.

With more and more students staying at home, it is hardly surprising that parents are increasingly required to share the cost of sending their children to university.

In 1985 parents paid toward the cost of children studying in 68 per cent of cases, or 3.7 per cent more than in 1982.

As in 1982, men students have more money at their disposal than women students: in 1982 it was nine per cent, in 1985 seven per cent more.

On average the ordinary student has monthly outgoings totalling DM863, as against DM820 in 1982.

Rent accounts for DM272 (DM242 in 1982), food for DM203 (DM212), travel for DM101 (DM111), books and stationery for DM49 (DM53), toiletries for DM22 (DM19) and sundries for DM316 (DM183).

Students have had no choice but to accept a 12-per-cent increase in rent but are spending less on food — despite higher prices — than in 1982. That, says the DSW, is a sure sign that pressure is heavy.

Students with less than DM700 a month to spend can on average only afford to spend DM160, or DM5 a day, on food.

The DSW is as alarmed at the decline in spending on books and stationery as it is by the fact that, for the first time ever, students are spending less on food.

Far fewer students now qualify for grants. In summer 1985 only 27 per cent of German students were grant-aided; in 1982 the figure was 37 per cent.

Reasons for the decline include a smaller number of students qualifying financially for grants, students taking longer to complete their studies (and grants expiring before they do so) and more students taking a second degree (and not qualifying for a grant in any case).

The 1985 student survey findings have evidently annoyed the Education Ministry, but the government notes with satisfaction one aspect brought to light: that even though fewer students may be paid grants, those that do are more deserving than in the past. In other words, the right students are getting them.

Students from working-class families account for 15.5 per cent of the overall student population but for 32.1 per cent of grant recipients. In 1982 they made up only 29.4 per cent of grant recipients.

Forty-nine per cent of working-class students and 56 per cent of students from families where the breadwinners are unskilled or semi-skilled workers receive grants.

"In other words," the Ministry says, "children from working-class families are still the main recipients of student grants."

This point is made in an attempt to make another trend noted by Professor Folz sound less dramatic. Yet the two findings need not contradict each other.

Professor Folz noted that fewer students now come from families that can be classified as working-class, clerical or lower-echelon civil service than three years ago.

There has, in contrast, been a striking increase in the number of students whose parents are senior white-collar, management or higher civil service.

This trend, he says, shows us to have drifted even further away from equality of opportunity in education.

The DSW, he has said, is going to press for an immediate change in student grants policy.

At the DSW general meeting in Bonn at which Professor Folz was re-elected for a further two years, Herr Pfeifer again rejected demands for higher grants, saying they were exaggerated.

The increases called for by the DSW would cost the taxpayer up to DM900m a year more, for which no-one outside the universities would have the slightest understanding, he said.

So all that grant-aided students can expect is a 1986 grant two to three per cent higher than at present. Even students drawing the full grant will not stand to net more than about an extra DM20 a month.

Ada Brandes

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 15 December 1985)

Continued from page 7

posed even though free trade has long been a mainstay of prosperity and technological progress in the free martket economy of the western world.

Machowski fears that not only trade with the East will suffer but also the economic relations among the western countries where, without Cocom, there is already enough protectionism.

Heinrich Vogel, director of the Federal Institute for East Bloc and International Studies in Cologne, expressed the fear that fissures could appear in relations between the western countries themselves.

Vogel says that it would be a mistake to make light of the Russians and East Bloc countries using western technology for military purposes. Yet he feels it would be unwise to accept America's wholesale condemnation of trade with the East.

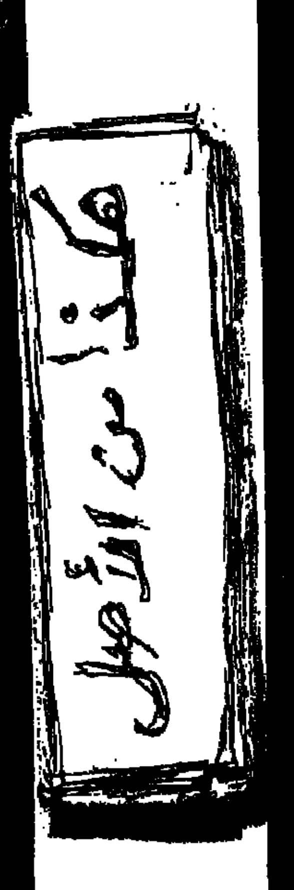
The more impatient the United States is about technological transfer the more the suspicion will grow, particularly in Europe, that the USA ultimately pursues its own economic interests.

Political scientist Hanns-Dieter Jacobsen from the Science and Politics Foundation in Ebenhausen has often enough spoken of this aspect of embargo policies.

He said: "The internal strife about correct East-West trade strategy has for some time now been a conflict among the industrialised countries about the best starting point for their own future economic development and their position on world markets, in which advanced technology will take up a central role."

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 13 December 1985)



■ MEDICINE

Doctors draw up 'binding guidelines' for human embryo research

The *Bundesärztekammer*, or General Medical Council, has broken new ground in issuing guidelines on medical research involving human embryos.

Its executive committee and scientific advisory council drew up the guidelines and have declared them to be binding after a 21-day period for final consultations.

The guidelines, says GMC president Karsten Vilmar, are an act of voluntary self-restraint by the medical profession, which has the power to impose sanctions on members who ignore it.

Professor Vilmar dealt with the guidelines at a conference on medical ethics at the Protestant Church Academy in Loccum, near Hanover.

Only two of the advisory council's 40 members had voted against the proposals, he said.

The idea of medical research on human embryos has arisen in connection with test-tube babies. Since the emergence of extra-uterine conception it has been possible to keep embryos alive for a short period in a test-tube.

The German medical congress held early last summer in Travemünde agreed on strict ethical principles in connection with test-tube babies.

Regulations governing research on embryos is a necessary corollary, research of this kind only being feasible in connection with artificially inseminated ova.

The guidelines are based on the assumption that scientific issues may well arise that can only be resolved by means of research involving human embryos.

They are issues relating to the success of extra-uterine fertilisation and influences on the embryo that can harm it in the earliest stages of its development, even ending pregnancy.

This being so, the *Bundesärztekammer* has declared that embryo research can only be permitted when experiments with laboratory animals are impossible and diagnostic and therapeutic benefit is likely to result.

"As a matter of principle," the guidelines state, "human embryos may not be created for use in research work." In all cases the genetical parents must give their assent.

Embryos must not be cultivated for longer than 14 days after fertilisation. They may only be preserved for a specific (but yet to be specified) period.

Strict regulations apply with immediate effect on registration and control of embryo research. The ethics commissions of medical faculties and councils and a central commission the General Medical Council is to specially set up for this purpose must be consulted.

This central commission will submit annual reports to parliaments and governments in the Federal Republic and be available for consultation whenever embryo research is debated.

Professor Vilmar stressed in Loccum that the guidelines were standards binding on the medical profession and similar to others issued over the past two or three decades, some simultaneously with declarations by international medical bodies.

He referred to guidelines governing the confidential nature of the doctor-patient relationship, organ transplants and the trade in human organs, euthanasia and extra-uterine conception.



They were all merely logical extensions of the Hippocratic oath, he said, which had been modernised in the 1948 Geneva oath: "My patient's health will be my first concern." This basic tenet remained unchanged.

The Loccum conference reaffirmed in many papers and debates, and by no means invariably with entire satisfaction, that the basic tenets of the medical profession have indeed remained unchanged in centuries.

Ethical issues doctors must bear in mind were seen to have gained in importance in the eyes of both the medical profession and the general public. Basic debate is no longer just for first-year students.

This may be due to modern medicine progressing at a breathtaking pace. It may also be due to many doctors (and non-doctors) being keen to see standards laid down by a competent body.

A need for standards to be laid down was certainly agreed to exist; it was felt at Loccum to be a permanent requirement.

Views differed on whether they should be the subject of legislation or for the medical profession itself to clarify, advised by theologians, lawyers and philosophers.

It was somehow unsatisfactory for a profession, no matter how important a profession it might be, to lay down its own code of conduct, said Ernst Ankermann, a Federal Supreme Court judge in Karlsruhe.

Yet basically it was merely a matter of applying general ethical standards to medical behaviour.

Professor Vilmar noted in contrast that basic norms governing medical activity had survived systems and centuries, well outlasting the best legislation.

He and the overwhelming majority at the conference felt it was advisable for the law only to deal with ethical aspects of medical conduct where the professional code, based on the Geneva oath, was inadequate or where government regulations were indispensable.

An example came to light more or less as an aside in the course of debate. The new guidelines are binding on doctors but not, for instance, on biologists who might order "embryo material" for research purposes from other countries.

This was an instance in which government regulations might be useful, or arguably the practice of Swiss cantonal courts as outlined by Professor Otto Gsell of St Gallen, chairman of the Swiss ethics commission.

In Switzerland, he said, the medical profession's agreed code of conduct was automatically accepted as legally binding.

Such major issues continue to predominate in the ethics debate, yet another issue was raised at Loccum that is likely to be of more immediate concern to doctor and patient.

Ingeborg Retzlaff of Lübeck, president of the Schleswig-Holstein medical council, said there was an enormous danger of the doctor's professional discretion being undermined.

It was jeopardised by health policy necessities, whether real or imaginary, by stringent staff and cost checks and by a barely checked flow of data.

Official requirements were increasingly threatening professional discretion and with it freedom of treatment.

The authorities were the main offender, but patients often also behaved as though the doctor's professional discretion had become largely immaterial in the 20th century, Frau Retzlaff said.

"Yet it is still an essential of all medical treatment and should remain one. A patient who confides in his doctor must be able to rely on his confidence not being betrayed."

Reinhard Biehl

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 December 1985)

Test-tube baby panel lawyers accused of 'emotionalism'

Recommendations on treatment of the human foetus, especially in connection with genetic manipulation, have been made by a commission chaired by former chief justice Ernst Benda.

The borderlines drawn up for test-tube babies, genome analysis and genetic therapy go too far for commission member Walter Doerfler, head of Cologne University department of genetics.

He did not agree with the recommendations. Peter Petersen, another commission member, felt they didn't go far enough — but approved the findings as a whole.

Petersen is head of psychotherapy and gynaecological psychosomatics at Hanover medical college. The two men submitted special opinions here outlined.

Doerfler complained that the findings, influenced mainly by lawyer members of the commission, were "unjustifiably sceptical toward the scientific approach and partly given to emotionalising in a detrimental manner."

Genetic transfer between human cells might be neither meaningful nor justifiable at present, but at some future date they could be not only meaningful but medically and ethically indicated.

In a few years' time views could have changed on a number of issues now seen particularly critically. A wider public should by then have come to realise what a beneficial effect new ideas in biology had in many sectors of medicine and agriculture.

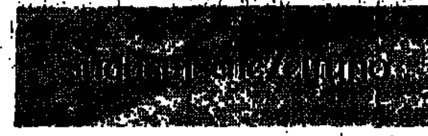
Petersen takes an entirely different view. He is opposed to extra-uterine conception, or test-tube babies.

The "biomedical manipulation of test-tube fertilisation, characteristically borrowed from veterinary medicine without an anthropological concept, were scientifically devised with regard to nothing but biotechnology considerations and heedless of the psychosomatic, mental and emotional nature of man."

"Our present practical and scientific awareness," he concludes, "is incapable of an overview of the effect of test-tube fertilisation. Doctors associated with test-tube babies don't know what they are doing."

As a psychologist and psychosomatics specialist he notes that test-tube fertilisation imposes a particularly severe strain on the mother.

"Experience has shown that only robust women can withstand the strain.



Sensitive ones are ruled out. This indirect selection is most dubious."

Psychosomatic tests by Manfred Stauber of Charlottenburg University Hospital gynaecological clinic, Berlin, have shown the average sterile woman patient to be strongly depressive and narcissistically disturbed, in other words, her self-confidence is seriously impaired.

This is only partly in response to the unfulfilled wish to have children. "Sterility is felt to be a serious insult and is handled in a pathological manner."

It is also "a primary, long-term personality upset dating back to before sterility was diagnosed. The patient hopes to offset and overcompensate her own sense of helplessness and worthlessness by means of a child of her own.

"To a somewhat less striking extent such personality upsets are also found among husbands from sterile marriages."

What happens when such personalities are helped to have children? Petersen says the child is similar in effect to a crutch in replacing a mother's amputated leg.

She remains handicapped despite the crutch. Her handicap is eased but she remains amputated. The child is then used as a crutch, which is hardly its natural role.

Given their neuroses such women and their partners would, he says, be well advised to undergo intensive psychotherapy — and certainly not to go in for a test-tube baby.

The woman's sterility must be seen as "a meaningful, unconscious protective measure on the part of her psychosomatic organism." Her soul is structured in such a way that bringing up a child of her own is basically too much for her.

Women of this kind are unable to accept this, their psychic make-up and are correspondingly keener on having children.

Yet reservations would apply even in the case of sterility due to physical reasons, such as impassable Fallopian tubes.

They too as a rule had the personality structure identified by Stauber.

Experience with marriages in which infertility had been offset by surgery had been "appalling," with a divorce rate three times higher than the average for others of their age and comparable status.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 December 1985)

■ HORIZONS

Missing persons bureau a reminder of a dark chapter in German history

RHEINISCHE POST

Twelve million people are on the files of the Red Cross international tracing service in the small town of Arolsen, in Hesse.

There are 1.7 million closed files: a third of them shunted off because no information has been unearthed; the rest represent successes.

The files represent the darker side of German history, cases of torture, kidnapping, imprisonment and forced labour, families split up and concentration camps — lives of millions of people between 1933 and 1945.

Every file in these shelves tells a story of misery under the Nazi regime.

The service, headed by Charles Biedermann, 34, was founded in London in 1943. It has correspondents all over the world.

It collects information, evaluates it and files it. More than 100 letters arrive daily and are processed by more than 250 workers.

The archives have 16 kilometres of filing shelves with data on foreign workers, imprisoned persons or people in concentration camps. Every year 50 to 60 metres of shelving are added.

Details on more than 12 million people are stored here.

There is information about the time foreign workers were employed on a farm or in an industrial company, files on social insurance contributions and extracts from pay slips.

Figures and letters indicate where a former political prisoner was held and how, for example, the concentration camp numbers in Auschwitz were built up.

The service was managed by the Allies and the United Nations Organisation in its first years. It was handed over to the International Red Cross, Geneva, in 1955.

The service processes the personal details of prisoners held during the Nazi regime in concentration camps — Jews, those who were abducted and foreigners who came within the scope of the Third Reich and were persecuted.

Invstigations into people of German nationality are carried out by the service of the Red Cross in Munich, where there is an office manned by 80 people.

In the past few years the responsibilities of the large office in Arlosen have changed. Queries from relatives about people who have disappeared are less frequent.

These days it is those concerned themselves who approach the office. They want information about reparations and pension payments or, in inheritance cases, the exact date of a person's death.

Those who suffered in those times, during their youth just numbers legally, want to put their papers in order in the autumn of their lives.

People all over the world, persecuted during the Nazi period in Germany, must establish proof of those bitters years in their lives for the officials.

They need documentary evidence of their time in imprisonment; about the forced labour conditions they had to submit to, or as inmates of a concentration camp, in order to make pension claims covering this period of bitter humiliation.

Those looking for assistance come from Belgium or Brazil, from Monaco or Mexico, from Ireland or Italy.

Queries from 37 countries arrived in Arolsen last year. There was a considerable number from Poland.

Senior worker Karl-Heinz Schmidt said: "We are helping people who are in need, in need of information."

The service investigators do not find out specatular facts: They do not go after information in the style of criminal investigators. There detective work is done at a desk, in archives and with neverending lists of names.

The central file of names is the nucleus for success in the service's research. There are 43 million small filing cards that give information on the records held in nine different departments.

So far no electronic data processing system has seemed suitable to take over the work done by hand by 35 clerical staff, because these cards are filed away alphabetically-phonetically.

The cards give not only the correct way of writing the family and given names but more often than not the various ways in which the name can be pronounced.

This is necessary because the registration of a prisoner was usually done by a foreign prisoner who worked in the camp office and who wrote down names as they sounded.

If a person from Holland applies to the service with the name "van Baal" it is most likely that his personal details are to be found under the name "Vanbal".

It is particularly difficult with Slav names, that make up over 60 per cent of the whole card index.

Walter Jeck of the central archives said: "We know 156 ways of writing the family name of Svartz alone."

This most unusual databank is housed in 20,000 cardboard boxes. Every year one million filing cards are added.

Forty years after the ending of the war the flow of information has not dried up. In some instances the information is legally confidential.

Factories have sent forgotten information on foreign workers employed there, prison authorities make available yellowing files and official bodies open up their archives.

Recently the Italian Interior Ministry sent over four tons of documents to Arolsen. Officials at the service estimate that these documents contained information on 300,000 civilians who had ended up in Italy when hostilities ceased.

The officials at the International service need two to three months to trace back the history of a person involved in the nazi period.

Often the investigators have only scanty information to go on. A letter writer, after so long a lapse of time, can no longer recall the name of an employer, and some of them cannot remember the name of the town where they lived.

Sometimes the clues lead to one of the 22 concentration camps or one of the 1,000 or so associated camps. In a special department of the Tracing Service there are four million documents on inmates of concentration camps. This oppressive collection includes prisoners' records, transportation lists and lists of tatoo numbers.

The clerk in Buchenwald or Dachau wrote down the details of the inmates with painful precision, drawing up lists for the crematorium and keeping the records of the dead.

There entries read: "Shot trying to escape" or "Suicide through hanging".

The International Tracing Service costs DM2m annually, provided by the West German government.

The International Red Cross Committee is of the view that the Service must remain in operation until at least 1995 to fulfil requests that come in from all over the world. Fifty years after the Service is closed the material that has been so industriously collected can be made available to research.

The chances of coming up with answers about missing persons get slimmer all the time. Last year of 34,338 people looked for only 2,620 could be traced. The chances of unearthing the fate of a missing person get smaller as time goes on.

After two years of research investigators in the International Tracing Service give up trying to find a lost person. This is a sad thing to have to do.

Although the mother or father of a war child could be traced, frequently the "case" cannot be closed.

The person traced refused to give permission for his or her address to be passed on. They have found a new life for themselves.

Charles Biedermann said: "They do not want to have to face up to the past again."

Carlheinz Tüllmann

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 14 December 1985)

Lawyer took on Chancellor Hitler — and lived to tell the tale

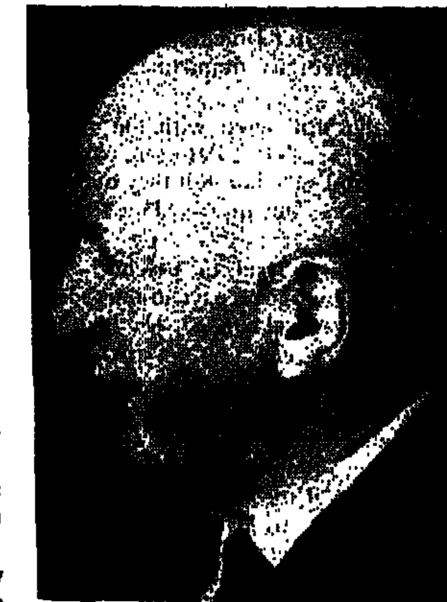
DIE WELT

When the notice of lawsuit landed on the court office desk, officials rubbed their eyes in disbelief, So did members of the SS.

It was March 1935, nearly two years after the Nazis came to power. Yet a Berlin law firm had charged the Chancellor of the Third Reich, Adolf Hitler, *with involvement in a murder plot* — and it sought damages from him.

That anybody would have the temerity to take such a course of action demonstrated just what some people are willing to do in the name of justice — even under the Third Reich.

The charges were laid by Dr Werner Pünder and his junior partner, Dr Erich Wedell, on behalf of the widow of Dr



Werner Pünder . . . blood-spattered cell. (Photo: Die Welt)

Erich Klausener, who had been shot by the Gestapo on 30 June 1934 — the date which became known as The Night of the Long Knives.

Klausener was a senior official in the Reich Ministry of Transport and also a senior lay member of the Catholic Church — he was also related to Pünder and a friend of his.

Frau Klausener was suing:

- the German Reich and Adolf Hitler
- The *Land* of Prussia and Hermann Goering
- Wilhelm Frick, Interior Minister of both Prussia and the Third Reich, and
- Franz Gürtner, Minister of Justice for both the Third Reich and Prussia.

She claimed that they had, on or before 30 June 1934 had ordered the secret police (Gestapo) to kill her husband.

The allegation was that on midday on the 30th, two Gestapo men had entered Klausener's office in the Reich Transport Ministry at Wilhelmstrasse 80 and shot him.

The official Nazi story was that Klausener had shot himself. Frau Klausener's indictment alleged that her husband had been shot by the Gestapo; that he had done nothing to warrant being shot; and that he had been in no way connected with any movements against the Third Reich which resulted in the Nazi purge of 30 June 1934.

There were two long weeks of silence from the Reich. Then it acted swiftly. On 16 April, 1935, both lawyers were arrested in their office. As Pünder sat in his cell, he noticed blood on the walls. This was where, a little more than a year before, one of Hitler's closest henchmen, Gregor Strasser, had been shot.

The same fate might well befall Pünder, he was told by SS officer Meisinger. A milder sentence would only be possible if Pünder admitted that the aim of the allegations was to mount a public action against the Führer and the Reich.

But Pünder was able to give Meisinger an astounding answer: the lawsuit had been submitted because it was in accordance with a law passed by the government of the Reich. Indeed, an officer superior to Meisinger in the SS, Oberführer Breithaupt, had told him, Pünder, to follow this course of action.

Pünder and Wedell both expected to die. They were kept in jail for several weeks before powerful influence was

Continued on page 15

■ FRONTIERS

Munich's controversial train vigilantes to be replaced

Frankfurter Rundschau

Teams of privately employed "black sheriffs" used to police Munich's underground railway system and other public places are to be replaced.

Munich council, which has an SPD-Green majority, thinks that image-improving plans such as getting rid of the gangster-like black uniform and replacing it with something more congenial do no go far enough. Cosmetic changes are insufficient.

The armed black sheriffs have run into a lot of criticism over the years and there have been several court cases involving assault, some serious.

The dispute has been running for about 10 years, and it seems that finally it is being resolved against the interest of the head of the group, judo and karate instructor Carl Wiedmeier.

The opposition Christian Democrats on the council oppose the sheriffs' replacement by municipal employees. CDU councillor Elisabeth Schlosser said they provided an efficient form of protection for women, children and old people.

Her colleague, Franz Josef Delonge, said the underground railway system (U-Bahn) was safer than any other anywhere and the council majority were demonstrating "blundering prejudice" in insisting on change.

But Klaus Jungfer (SPD) said mischievously that the Peking U-Bahn was safer. In any case, crime in Munich was not high and that the rate of crime on the U-Bahn was no greater than the rate of crime city wide.

Klaus Hahnzog, the bürgermeister, said the SPD opposed too much power being put into private hands. He thought municipal workers were psychologically better for the job.

Opponents of the sheriffs would like to see proper policemen take over, but the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior says that there is no money available for new recruits and policemen cannot be transferred from other posts.

Now a scheme is being worked out for a force armed with dogs instead of pistols. It would take over gradually on the various lines between the end of 1986 and the end of 1987.

It is clear that the change is going to be expensive. The current system costs 1.5 million marks a year. Municipal workers would cost between 4 and 5 million marks — some put the figure even higher.

Opponents of the system say it is cheap only because the service quality is bad and the employees *badly paid*.

On grounds of cost, the sheriffs cannot be yet discarded at the Olympic Stadium and some other public places.

The sheriffs wear a star with the inscription "Honour and Justice", but they don't always live up to it.

One member of the team has managed to pick up five assault convictions and another for shooting at a Yugoslav at Odeonsplatz station.

Honour and Justice? Or something else? Black sheriffs at work. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

At the end of 1979, an SPD member of the Bavarian *Land* assembly tabled 34 questions for four ministries to answer. One of the bones of contention was a nuclear power station being guarded by the black sheriffs.

There had been incidents in which rabbits, ducks and swans had been shot at; shots had been fired in a washroom; and a cooling tower exterior had been damaged.

In Munich, there have been court cases in which black sheriff victims have told of having thumbs broken, being hit with left hooks and being kicked.

*Over a five-year period, 17 in*stances have been investigated, leading to 17 prosecutions and seven convictions.

A case of a male ballet dancer who sustained a broken skull while allegedly being manhandled by a black sheriff is due to be heard.

Roman Arens

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 December 1985)

Lady sacks tax

The tax department in Düsseldorf has received a letter from a woman in Essen: "After long consideration, I have decided to terminate my membership with your organisation because the membership fees are now excessive."

dpa

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 November 1985)

Pubic knowledge

A Bonn man had no idea that the new telephone number the post office gave him was famous. Famous enough to be included in a Travellers' Guide to the Capital published as part of a free-sheet newspaper.

The man started getting telephone calls from men during the night. After some months he discovered the reason why: Claudia, the "queen of Bonn's call-girls" once had the number.

She used to advertise in the free sheet but at the beginning of 1984, she had the telephone disconnected and the Bundespost transferred the number to the man.

However, the production of the guide continued together with outdated information about Claudia.

Now a Bonn court has rejected the man's suit for 1,500 marks damages. It said the publisher could not have known that Claudia had moved on and that the number had been transferred.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1985)

Continued from page 14

brought to bear and they were released. Frau Klausener even got her damages — and thus, the government indirectly acknowledged that her husband had indeed been murdered.

So how was it that this all came to happen? On 24 June, 1934, Klausener addressed a huge parade on the occasion of the Catholic conference in the city. The Nazis saw this and it frightened them that someone was able to mobilise so many people.

When Hitler that week hit the SA and its leader, Ernst Röhm (who had been accused of planning a revolution), other people not in the SA were also murdered — Strasser, former Chancellor General Streicher, and Klausener were among them.

The accepted version now is that SS Hauptsturmfuhrer Gildisch went to Klausener's office on the 30th of June and told him that he was under arrest. Klausener went to fetch his hat from the rack and, as he did so, Gildisch shot him from behind, put the pistol in Klausener's hand, and then notified Reich Transport Minister, Klausener's departmental head, that Klausener had shot himself.

When, a year later, Pünder and Frau Klausener appeared with their list of allegations, Transport Minister Eltz von Rübenach, for whom misbehaviour by the organs of State was an inimagineable concept, said in shocked tones: "Are you intending casting doubt on a statement from the highest authority in the land?"

Yes. They certainly were.

On 3 July, 1934, the Nazi government had taken steps to justify its purge of 30 June and 1 and 2 July by enshrining in law the right of the State to defend itself.

In spite of this, an odd anomaly remained — legal action was still a possibility. A newspaper in Egypt, the *Bourse Egyptienne*, even gloated that relatives of the victims of 30 June would sue and that the government had no chance of hindering the process.

However, the reality was precisely the opposite. The government could stop any court case it wanted to. But in this case it had, as Pünder told the SS officer, passed a law enabling him to go to court. In fact the law forced such a hearing.

On 13 December 1934, a law dealing with compensation claims specifically relating to 30 June was passed. But it laid down that charges first had to be pressed before compensation could be considered.

How the Nazis ever got themselves into this strange position has never adequately been answered. After all, they could have compensated anybody they chose without recourse to a court of law under a legal system they dominated.

Perhaps it had something to do with Hans von Dohnanyi, a highranking official in the Justice Ministry. Von Dohnanyi missed no opportunity of thinking up ways of creating difficulties almost as an intellectual exercise. The legislation might have been his plaything.

In any case, SS officer Breithaupt really had in all naivete recommended that the Klausener case be submitted in line with this law. It was then that the Nazis realised what they had let themselves in for.

Pünder survived the Third Reich and, after the war, set up practice in Frankfurt, in the Federal Republic. He died in 1973. Today the practice is run by his son, Albrecht.

This year, the employees of the firm are celebrating what would have been the old man's 100th birthday by setting up a foundation to be known as the Werner Pünder Prize, under which 10,000 marks will be awarded each year for a work dealing historically or constitutionally with freedom and totalitarianism.

Enno von Loewenstern

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 December 1985)

Crocodile storm

Tape-recorded tropical storms are being played to crocodiles in Augsburg zoo in an effort to stimulate their love life. The zoo has been trying unsuccessfully to get the crocodiles to breed.

Crocodiles copulate only with acoustic stimulation and attempts have been made to simulate jungle sounds by, for example, using a watering-can as a wind instrument and performing drum rolls night after night.

The tropical storms in Augsburg have not yet led to eggs being laid, but scientists think that this time they are on the right track.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 10 December 1985)

Winter streaker

A motor-cyclist took advantage of a sudden warm spell in December to ride naked through the streets of Duisdorf, near Bonn. Police said December streakers are rare. Those on motorbikes are still rarer. The policeman who halted the streaker said the 21-year-old simply said in explanation that the weather had become too warm for him.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 December 1985)